

THE REFORMATION
in the
DIOCESE of DUNBLANE

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SUMMARY

The mid-sixteenth century was a time of religious upheaval and political revolution in Scotland. Many of the broader aspects of these struggles can be seen in microcosm and examined in depth by a study of one particular area of the country.

The Reformation was not a sudden and surprising event, nor was it immediately conclusive in either its actions or established goals. A fairly broad period of time must be viewed to appreciate the momentous changes taking place in Scotland. Dunblane diocese was small and relatively compact. It was close enough to the important burgh areas of Scotland to feel the influence of the new ideas of the sixteenth century, but distinct enough not to be overshadowed by a large urban area. The nobles of the diocese were of moderate or small influence, none wielding absolute authority within the diocese, and none of first-rank national importance. Their reactions to the reforming ideas are important, for they have been little studied and their influence has passed with little comment. Yet it was these minor nobles and lairds who were to form the real strength of the kirk in the second half of the century.

The clergy of the diocese are studied from within the local context of Dunblane diocese; its bishop and cathedral, its religious houses, and its influential families. This study is an exercise in local history only insofar as the major events of an immensely important time are reflected in this one particular area of the country.

ABBREVIATIONS

Titles of works found in print are underlined, while manuscripts are not.

A & D	Acts and Decrees of the Court of Session
<u>ADCP</u>	<u>Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs</u>
<u>APS</u>	<u>Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</u>
<u>Arbroath</u>	<u>Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc</u>
Assignations	Assignations and Modifications of Ministers Stipends
BA	Books of Assumption
<u>Balcarres Papers</u>	<u>Foreign Correspondence with Mary de Lorraine Queen of Scotland</u>
Brunton & Haig, <u>College</u>	<u>An Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice</u>
<u>BUK</u>	<u>Acts & Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland (Booke of the Universall Kirk)</u>
<u>Cal. Border Papers</u>	<u>Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland</u>
Cal. Charters	Calendar of Charters and Other Original Documents Preserved in H.M. General Register House
<u>Cal. Scot. Papers</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603</u>
<u>Cambuskenneth Charters</u>	<u>Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth</u>
<u>Cart. St. Crucis</u>	<u>Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis</u>
<u>Coupar Charters</u>	<u>Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus</u>
<u>CSP</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers</u>

Deeds	Register of Deeds
<u>Diurnal</u>	<u>A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the Country of Scotland</u>
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
Dowden, <u>Bishops</u>	Dowden, John, <u>The Bishops of Scotland</u>
<u>Dryburgh Charters</u>	<u>Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh</u>
Dunb. Consistorial Act Book	Liber Actorum Curie Consistorialis (Dunblanensis)
Dunb. Tests.	Register of Dunblane Testaments
<u>Easson, Religious Houses</u>	<u>Easson, D. E., Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland</u>
Edin. Tests.	Register of Edinburgh Testaments
<u>Exch. Rolls</u>	<u>Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</u>
<u>Extracts Edin. Council</u>	<u>Extracts From the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh</u>
<u>Fasti</u>	<u>Scott, Hew, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ</u>
<u>Formulare</u>	<u>St. Andrews Formulare, 1514-1546</u>
Gordon Donaldson, <u>James V-VII</u>	Gordon Donaldson, <u>Scotland, James V to James VII</u>
GUA	Glasgow University Archives
<u>HMC</u>	<u>Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission</u>
<u>Inchaffray Charters</u>	<u>Charters Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray</u>
<u>Inchcolm Charters</u>	<u>Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm</u>
Knox, <u>History</u>	John Knox, <u>History of the Reformation</u> (ed. Dickinson)
Knox, <u>Works</u>	<u>The Works of John Knox</u> (ed. Laing)
<u>L & P</u>	<u>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</u>

<u>Labanoff, Letters</u>	<u>Labanoff, Prince Alexandre, Lettres, Instructions et Memoires de Marie Stuarte, Reine D'Ecosse</u>
<u>Lib. Ins. Miss.</u>	<u>Liber Insule Missarum</u>
<u>Malcolm, History of the Drummonds</u>	<u>Malcolm, D., Genealogical Memoirs of the Most Noble and Ancient Family of Drummond</u>
<u>Mary's Letter to Guise</u>	<u>A Letter From Mary Queen of Scots to the Duke of Guise</u>
<u>Med. Fasti</u>	<u>Watt, D. E. R., Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi</u>
<u>Mission de La Brosse</u>	<u>Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse</u>
NLS	National Library of Scotland
<u>Papal Neg.</u>	<u>Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots</u>
<u>Patrick, Statutes</u>	<u>Statutes of the Scottish Church (ed. Patrick)</u>
PB	Protocol Book
<u>Peerage</u>	<u>The Scots Peerage</u>
<u>PSAS</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland</u>
<u>RBM</u>	<u>Fraser, William, The Red Book of Menteith</u>
<u>Reg. Dunb.</u>	<u>Registrum Capituli Dunblanensis</u>
<u>Reg. Epis. Brech.</u>	<u>Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis</u>
<u>Reg. Minr.</u>	<u>Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers</u>
<u>Reg. Minr.</u>	MS of above
<u>Reg. Pres.</u>	<u>Register of Presentations to Benefices</u>
<u>RMS</u>	<u>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</u>
<u>RPC</u>	<u>The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland</u>
<u>RSS</u>	<u>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum</u>

RSS	MS of above
<u>St. A. Acta</u>	<u>Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree</u>
<u>St. A. K. S. R.</u>	<u>Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregations of St. Andrews (St. Andrews Kirk Session Register)</u>
<u>St. A. Univ. Rec.</u>	<u>Early Records of the University of St. Andrews</u>
<u>St. Giles Reg.</u>	<u>Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh</u>
<u>SCHS</u>	<u>Scottish Church History Society (Records)</u>
<u>Scottish Correspondence</u>	<u>The Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine</u>
<u>SFDC</u>	<u>Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral</u>
<u>SHR</u>	<u>Scottish Historical Review</u>
<u>SHS</u>	<u>Scottish History Society</u>
<u>SRS</u>	<u>Scottish Record Society</u>
<u>TA</u>	<u>Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum: Accounts of the Lord High Treasurers of Scotland</u>
<u>TB</u>	<u>Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices</u>
<u>Teulet, Papiers D'Etat</u>	<u>Papiers D'Etat Relatifs A L'Histoire de L'Ecosse (ed. Teulet)</u>
<u>Wod. Misc.</u>	<u>Miscellany of the Wodrow Society</u>

INTRODUCTION

The study of the Reformation as a religious and political movement within a particular diocese offers several attractions. A limited study in terms of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and organisation, it is able in greater detail to take into account the influence of the old church diocesan structure. Religious institutions within the diocese can as well be examined in terms of their local influence. Although the new church superintendent, John Wynram, supervised Fife and the other parts of Perthshire as well as Dunblane diocese, the diocesan structure of the old church, and the all important benefice revenues associated with that structure, remained intact long after 1560. To the extent that the new church clergy attempted to continue the cure of souls within the basic parochial structure they inherited from their predecessor, the diocese is a reasonable ecclesiastical unit within which to observe the functions of both churches.

The political and religious activities of local lay families can be examined within this setting as well. Their acceptance or rejection of the Reformation would be particularly significant in a rural area such as Dunblane diocese, in the main removed from the powerful and persuasive pulpits of Edinburgh and the east coast. Several lairds and minor nobles within the diocese were heads of families whose adherence to the new church was essential for its local development. The attendance of many Protestant/

Protestant lairds at the Reformation parliament of 1560 has long been recognised as a significant indicator of support for the Reformation by the rural gentry, but the influence of these men within their local surroundings has been less studied.

There are difficulties peculiar to a diocesan study. Old church clergy might hold parochial benefices in more than one diocese, and thus have divergent interests.⁽¹⁾ Sometimes a pluralist priest in possession of a benefice within Dunblane diocese was a man whose major influence lay in another part of the country. However, enough beneficed men within the diocese had significant or singular local interest to provide a basis for assessment of their attitudes to the new faith, as judged by their willingness to serve in the Protestant church. Difficulties in the study of laymen are also primarily geographical, for contemporaries did not look on a diocese as a unit, and in terms of governmental administration it was not. The problem is eased somewhat in Dunblane diocese, for, unlike some of the larger and more scattered dioceses, it was quite compact. The stewartries of Strathearn and Menteith were the basic geographical and administrative areas of the diocese. The latter lay almost wholly within the southwest portion of Dunblane diocese, while the former comprised most of the eastern part of the diocese but/

1. Gordon Donaldson, "The Parish Clergy at the Reformation", Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625, 130.

but several parishes outwith it as well. Laymen from both districts often had possessions and influence outside the boundaries of Dunblane diocese. However, the laymen to be considered are men who had significant influence within the diocese.(2)

The primary aim of this thesis is to establish the reaction to the Reformation movement of several basic groups of people within Dunblane diocese. The parochial clergy of the old church, both beneficed and unbeneficed, were forced to make adjustments to the new situation. Beneficed men had the option of remaining conservative and retaining the major portion of their revenues, or of participating as clergy in the new church, retaining their entire benefice. For unbeneficed men, the options were less evenly balanced. They could become Protestant clergymen and gain a stipend, but no guarantee of continued income was given if they chose to remain loyal to the old church. Monks and canons of the diocesan religious houses, and those holding revenues at the cathedral faced a choice similar to parochial beneficed men. How these old church clergy responded to the various pressures brought to bear on them will be examined.

The response to the new faith by the laymen of Dunblane diocese is also investigated. No rate of conformity to service illustrates their acceptance of the new faith, and evidence about/

2. The men who will be studied are discussed in chapter I.

about their religious beliefs is sometimes of an inferential nature. Yet their involvement in various political affairs, periodic open support of either old or new church, and an examination of their lives over the period of the mid-sixteenth century, provide insights into their beliefs and commitments. A matter affecting both laymen and clerics was that of the kin. The significance of family ties will be observed in the political manoeuvring of various family groups, as well as in the way the family reacted to the contemporary religious struggle.

For reasons of clarity, this study is divided into two general sections. Chapters I through IV deal with the political and religious allegiance of a group of diocesan laymen. The study takes a chronological perspective to gain insight into the lives and activities of these men. Their interest in reforming ideas prior to 1560, and the early encroachment of such ideas into the diocese, help to set the background for their reactions to the revolutionary struggle of 1559-1560. Participation in or avoidance of the militant Protestantism of the revolution provides a gage of commitment for some of them. The decade following 1560, with its complex political and religious activities, is reflected in the lives of these men. Where they placed their loyalties at times of national upheaval indicates what they saw as the primary issues of the day.

Chapters/

Chapters V through VIII deal with the ecclesiastical institutions of the old and new church within the diocese. The parochial structure of the old church is investigated, with emphasis on the cure of souls and how the parish priests reacted to the Reformation. The new church parochial structure in the first decade after the Reformation is examined, noting particularly parallels with the structure of the old church and the source of new church personnel. The religious houses of the diocese and the influence of their commendators are discussed, as are the identities of the monks who served. A study of the cathedral, the focal point of diocesan religious life, indicates some of the pressures and influence involved within the diocese.

Discussed in the epilogue in chapter IX are three situations pertinent to the foregoing study: recusancy within the diocese, kin relationships, and the bases for judgment of a layman's religious beliefs.

The appendices at the end of the thesis provide documentation and further information for various sections of the text.

SOURCES

The sources discussed below are those which proved most useful in the following study and are a selection from a wide variety of material consulted. A complete list of all sources from which information was gathered will be found in the bibliography.

Some secondary sources were helpful in tracing the personnel of both the pre-Reformation and Reformed churches. Several compilations of clergy are available, but are not comprehensive. For locating cathedral dignitaries and other important persons within a diocesan setting, there is the Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi. However, this fasti does not include pluralist benefices held by clerics, nor are monastic houses included. The Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ for the Reformed church suffers many defects, not the least of which is inadequate documentation. Many corrections have been made in the revision volume of this series, but for the years just after 1560, it remains defective. For Dunblane diocese a fasti of Medieval clergy is provided in the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral, 1960-1964, and a variety of diocesan clerics are noted in J. H. Cockburn's The Medieval Bishops of Dunblane and their Church. All of these compilations cover a broad period of time, and do not concentrate on the Reformation period. The most comprehensive list of old and new church clergy of the sixteenth century to which access was made available/

available was a collection of notes provided by Professor Gordon Donaldson. Many relevant details about benefices and the conformity of old church clerics were supplied from these notes.

The study of the old and new churches within this diocese has revealed many difficulties faced in determining personnel in even a limited area, suggesting that any fasti must be tentative. The primary sources here discussed are those found most helpful in the study of both churches during the period of Reformation. First noted are those sources which are national in character. Many presentations to and gifts of benefices are found in the Register of the Privy Seal, which provides the name of the previous possessor and the reason for the vacancy, as well as the name of the new possessor. This source is useful in the study of both churches, for after 1567 benefices were to be granted to Reformed clerics.(3) These volumes are printed through 1580, and after that date remain in the MS volumes at Register House. Supplementing the Register of the Privy Seal is the Register of Presentations to Benefices, commencing with the accession of James VI and combined with the printed Register of the Privy Seal. The MS volumes of the Register of Presentations (4) has regularly been consulted, particularly for presentations after 1580. Entries made at later dates have also provided useful information. The use of the titles sir and Dene in these two sources often show that a man whose antecedents/

3. APS, iii. 23, c7.

4. MSS referred to are in the Register House, Edinburgh, unless noted otherwise.

antecedents are otherwise unknown had been an old church clergyman.(5) The Register of the Great Seal is also useful, for clerics were at times involved in land transactions, and often appear as witnesses at the end of a charter. Even minor clerics can appear on these witness lists. The place where the document was witnessed is also given, information particularly helpful in the case of pluralists, indicating where they spent much of their time. Much the same type of information is available in the Feu Charters of Kirklands, where the bulk of documents relate to the Reformation period. Several local clerics are found as witnesses in these volumes.

Judicial records yield the names of several clerics. The Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, which consists of extracts from the Acta Dominorum Concilii includes information on various clerics before 1554. The Register of the Privy Council includes many references to the general ecclesiastical situation in Scotland through the Reformation period, and also contains legal cases involving clerics. Court cases concerning the revenues of benefices are found here, as are the names of some men who were deposed by the new church for recusancy. Other helpful court records include Pitcairn's Ancient Criminal Trials/

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5. The title sir indicated a priest, while Dene was used to indicate a monk or canon. This distinction will be maintained throughout the thesis.

Trials in Scotland. The first series of the Register of Acts and Decrees of the Court of Session gives the names of various clergy, and sometimes specifies the type of work done by a cleric.(6) Details on the transfer of church lands are also provided, and the antecedents of some new church clerics given.(7) Legal cases in this series can also help in determining more precisely the religious perspective and identity of various clerics, especially where men of the same name may be easily confused.

Government financial records offer some of the most extensive source material for the study of clerics after 1560. The sources which deal with the administration of ecclesiastical property were neglected for many years (8), but are now partially in print, and much material is available in Register House. The various exchequer records are productive of much information. Several clergymen of both churches are mentioned in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurers of Scotland. The Books of Assumption provide records of the revenues of benefices given up so that the thirds could be properly accounted and apportioned./

6. Cf. A & D, 29, fos. 170-170v; cf. below, p. 175-176.

7. Cf. Ibid., 32, fo. 304; cf. below, p. 184-185.

8. Gordon Donaldson, "Sources for the Study of Scottish Ecclesiastical Organisation and Personnel, 1560-1600", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, no. 19, 202.

apportioned. This source gives the names of many men who held parochial and other diocesan benefices in 1561 and also the income derived from the benefice. Because the date is so near the Reformation, the information is exceptionally useful, for example, the provision of the names of nine of the choral vicars of Dunblane cathedral (9), some of whom have not been traced elsewhere. Considerable light is shed on the monks of Culross and their religious beliefs, as well as the attitude of the commendator, by an entry he made in this source.(10)

Records of the collection and dispersal of the thirds have been printed to 1572 in the Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices. This list of Reformed clergy, their stipends and benefices held, is the single most valuable source of information on them. Unfortunately, most of the new church clergy of Dunblane diocese are not recorded in this volume until 1567. From that date lists of clergy are quite full, but this initial gap does mean that the dates of conformity of several old church clerics are uncertain. Complementing this source is the Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers, which provides the names and stipends of new church clergy from 1567-1573. Reference is generally made to the volume printed by the Maitland Club, but the MS volume was/

9. BA, fo. 317v.

10. Cf. below, p. 212.

was regularly consulted and compared, for some marginal indications were not adequately reproduced. While providing information about the Protestant clerical careers of these men, these volumes do not indicate their antecedents unless they were beneficed men. Information about the Reformed clergy is continued for 1574 in a register printed in the Wodrow Society Miscellany. From 1576 until 1615 there is the series of the Register of Assignations and Modifications of Stipends, which, although it has many gaps, provides information on the number of parishes a man served, the composition of his stipend, and the benefices he held. This series is particularly helpful in determining the length of service of the early Protestant clerics, their geographical mobility, and whether the readers rose to become ministers.

Complementing these sources are compilations of charters which include important witness lists. Helpful are the Calendar of Laing Charters, particularly in providing names of the religious, and the Register House Calendar of Charters. These sources supplied the names of many monks of Culross, where no cartulary has survived. The microfilm collection of Vatican Archives at Glasgow University was consulted, and supplied several useful details about pre-Reformation clergy. The Edinburgh Register of Testaments provided a variety of detail about certain clergy, their families, benefices and length of service. Information about a clergyman's antecedents may be found/

found in the printed records of the University of St. Andrews; these records must be used with care, for often the only facts they supply are a man's name and when he studied there - insufficient identification for a little known and distant parish priest. Traditional sources of Reformed church history such as Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, and the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly do supply some information on clergy, but only a few men from this diocese are mentioned.

The problems of the identity and antecedents of minor clerics of both churches require searches of primary source material of a local nature often not associated with ecclesiastical studies. An advantage of studying ecclesiastical personnel within a limited geographical area is the opportunity afforded to pursue these local sources with a concentrated effort on the material available. Cartularies of religious houses provide many names of monks and canons; particularly helpful to this study were the Charters of Inchaffray and the Liber Insule Missarum, which contains lists of Inchaffray canons who witnessed charters at their house. The Red Book of Menteith supplied the names of many of the canons of Inchmahome, again mostly in witness lists. Some of the volumes on family history which include transcripts of charters and other legal documents are helpful for locating both secular and religious/

religious clergy; of importance were Sir William Fraser's Stirlings of Keir and J. Anderson's Oliphants in Scotland.

Another important source of ecclesiastical information is collections of family papers. For example, the Burnett-Stuart Collection contains a list of the chaplains of the choir at Dunblane cathedral in 1552 (11), while other information of the cathedral is found in the Inventory of Kennoull Writs. For the abbey of Inchaffray several charters among the papers of Tods, Murray and Jamieson provide the names of canons in residence in the 1550s; these are supplemented by charters in the Auchterarder writs of the Drummond Castle Papers and by the Morton Papers. The Drummond Castle Papers also give the names of several local clergy who witnessed documents, and who were connected with the Drummond family. The Airlie Papers and Cardross Writs give the names of some of the canons of Inchmahome. Various old and new church clergy appear in other collections, such as the Buchanan of Leny Muniments. Protocol books are another source of local information. The Protocol Book of Alexander Gaw and Protocol Book of Robert Rollok provide some biographical data on old church diocesan clergy; the most helpful MS books were those of Andrew Drummond, which covers the years 1561-1583, and James Drummond, 1561-1570. Besides mentioning several beneficed clerics, these books/

11. Burnett-Stuart Collection, no. 38.

books can yield some information on the early career of Reformed ministers.(12) The records of the Presbytery of Stirling, in the care of the Presbytery itself, provide information on Reformed clergy of Dunblane diocese, and supplement data given in national sources such as the Assignations and Modifications of Stipends.

Unbeneficed curates and various types of chaplains serving within Dunblane diocese prior to 1560 proved of singular interest. Even when such men conformed to serve as Protestant clerics, this fact cannot generally be ascertained in the more general records, and their antecedents have remained hidden. The single most valuable source for identifying them proved to be the few remaining diocesan records. Two volumes of the pre-Reformation Register of Dunblane Testaments exist; one extends from 1539 until 1547, and the other from 1553 until 1558. This latter is a slender volume with only a few entries after 1553. In most testaments a fee is left to curato meo to pray for the soul of the deceased. If the curate is named, and is an unbeneficed priest, and if his name appears on a later list of Reformed clerics at the same parish, his conformity is established. Two other volumes helpful in discovering the identity of these men are the Dunblane Consistorial Act Books which cover the years 1551-1554/5. A host of clerics appear in these volumes; other ecclesiastical information, such/

12. Cf. P. B. Andrew Drummond, fo. 61.

such as arrangements for the payment of curates, also occurs. These diocesan sources reveal information about the local nature of the ecclesiastical establishment and the security of tenure of unbeneficed men.

Many of the sources already discussed were essential to the study of the laymen of the diocese. The most familiar secondary source for the study of families is the Scots Peerage. However, the information given is of a very limited nature, and must be used with care, for the documentation is not always accurate. The same care must be taken with individual family histories which contain narratives but no transcripts of family documents.

A variety of primary sources of national character were useful. The Register of the Great Seal provides information about a man's landed possessions and with whom he had dealings. The Register of the Privy Seal can reveal a man's standing with the government of the day, through the gifts he received; while remissions or respites granted may help clarify his involvement in political or religious intrigue. The Register of the Privy Council and the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland contain some cases of treason which indicate political allegiance at various periods. The former particularly contains references to surety and caution which help to establish an individual's loyalty during the civil wars of 1568-1573.

Of particular assistance in the discovery of the political activities/

activities of several diocesan laymen are Scottish and English correspondence. For the 1540s the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII and the State Papers of Henry VIII are important. From 1547 the Calendar of Scottish Papers provides extensive information, supplemented by other calendars, such as the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, and by letters and documents in Bishop Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland. Letters in these calendars often assess the potential political or religious persuasion of individuals. Similar information, plus a variety of other social data, including the importance of family ties, is provided in the Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine and, for a later period, the Papal Negotiations of Mary Queen of Scots.

Contemporary narrative histories are more appropriate to the Study of these laymen than to a clerical survey. The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly speaks of the involvement of several men in the organisations and activities of the new church. The Diurnal of Occurrents, Lesley's History, and Calderwood's History provide material supplemental to the various contemporary legal documents and letters available. The most useful contemporary narrative is Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, which, although it may over emphasise religious events, gives an appraisal of the religious convictions of men involved in events during the Reformation period.

Primary/

Primary sources of a local nature were again especially useful. Various family histories are helpful, particularly those which provide extensive legal documents not otherwise available; Sir William Fraser's Red Book of Menteith contains documents relevant to the Earl of Menteith and Stewart of Doune, the Stirlings of Keir provides information on that family, and the Oliphants in Scotland illuminates the lives of the Lords Oliphant. The reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission were particularly useful for the study of Stewart of Doune, Lord Drummond and Murray of Tullibardine. Where the testaments of men were available, they were also consulted. Family papers contributed to a social and religious understanding of these men; the most useful were the Drummond Castle Papers. Considerable light is shed in these papers on Drummond's activities as steward of Strathearn and forester of Glenartney, as well as his relationship with his own chaplain. The Cardross Writs contain information on the Blackadders of Tulliallan and the commendators of Culross. The Register of Dunblane Testaments and Dunblane Consistorial Act Books reveal something of the involvement of local families within a parish context, including a family's consistent hold on a minor benefice and family interest as farmers of parochial teinds, as well as interfamily relationships. The Protocol Books of James and Andrew Drummond have several interesting entries about Dunblane families. It is these local sources that provided the most new information and helped to fill a variety of gaps in knowledge for both ecclesiastical and lay personnel.

PRINCIPAL LAYMEN OF DUNBLANE DIOCESE

The two major geographical areas of the diocese were Strathearn and Menteith. The former was comprised roughly of the basin of the Earn River and its tributaries. The latter included the lands in Perthshire west of the Ochils where the waters run into the Forth. There was also the detached portion of the diocese on or near the Forth; the parishes of Culross and Tulliallan. For purposes of legal jurisdiction these parishes fell within the stewartry of Strathearn.(1)

Certain families of influence within these divisions of the diocese will be examined in this part of the thesis. No single family dominated the area. The families to be studied have been chosen primarily on the basis of power and influence within the diocese itself. Their impact on the national scene politically was normally not large, although from time to time certain families rose in national importance. A biographical study has been made of the head of each of these families who lived through the Reformation period. These data will be investigated and interpreted in a series of chapters dealing with particular events and movements or problems encountered during the mid-sixteenth century.

This/

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1. APS, ii. 251, 267. During one brief period, 1503-1505, these parishes had been placed under the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Stirling, but were at the later date returned to Strathearn.

This chapter is intended to set forth the backgrounds of the various families, to locate them within the diocese, and give a digest of the family background and history within Dunblane diocese. The data given are necessarily brief and intended for orientation for the studies to follow.

Within the geographical division of Strathearn three families will be considered, the heads of whom were important to the area. David Lord Drummond was steward of Strathearn and Balquhiddie, thus giving him significant legal authority within the diocese. His varied interests in Dunblane and his local political and ecclesiastical power made him the most important man in the diocese during this period. Laurence Lord Oliphant was another nobleman of Strathearn with important diocesan ecclesiastical connections. William Murray of Tullibardine was head of a very large Strathearn family which periodically rivalled the Drummond influence and office.

In Menteith there was an earl, John Earl of Menteith, who merits study because of his family position as head of the Grahams in Menteith and because of his political and religious involvement during these times. The steward of Menteith was James Stewart of Doune, a man whose father came from outside the diocese. James Stewart's real contribution to this study comes after 1560, but he is a Dunblane man who for many years wielded national influence as well as his natural position of power in Menteith as steward. James Stirling of Keir was a laird/

laird with close contacts in the city of Dunblane itself and with the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church in Dunblane.

In the detached parishes John Blackadder of Tulliallan stood in the unique position for this diocese of a laird who held the patronage of the local parish church. Much of the ecclesiastical history of these detached parishes centered in the monastery of Culross, whose commendator will be discussed in chapter VII. These seven families were by no means of equal influence within the diocese. Keir and Tulliallan are included because of their unique and interesting situations. The others represent primary legal and family interests during this period.

As steward of Strathearn, David Lord Drummond was a royal official in charge of justice and certain matters of taxation for that district. He functioned rather as a sub-sheriff, in this case within the shire of Perth. He held a stewartry court, a position which gave him considerable power and influence, and which must as well have provided extra income. The privileges of his court were closely guarded, for there were a great many baronial courts in competition. For example, in 1559 Campbell of Glenorchy held a baron court which summoned persons living in Balquhiddier. Drummond protested at "this pretendit court" and insisted that his position as steward should not be hurt or prejudiced. He claimed that any tenants of Balquhiddier who might be summoned by Campbell should be remitted to his own stewartry/

stewartry court.(2) Stewards also had the power to judge criminal cases within their stewartries without the involvement or interference of the sheriff.(3) Drummond was regularly ordered to apprehend "broken men" and often worked with the sheriff of Perth and other powerful land owners in this activity. For example, on 11 June, 1547, a commission was given to Ruthven, sheriff of Perth, and Drummond to bring to justice John Keir in Claitheich and his servant for the murder of John's wife, Agnes Bane. In that same year Drummond was commissioned along with Montrose and Murray of Tullibardine to punish many malefactors in Strathearn.(4) Special taxations were also part of his work, as when on 2 October, 1566, he and the sheriff of Perth were ordered to raise a tax of four shillings on every pound land of auld extent within their areas for the baptism of Prince James.(5) He also possessed the power to escheat and put to the horn. Along with the stewartry of Strathearn went the keeping of the royal forest of Glenartney, where his services were at times required to prevent those who illegally "dayle hunttis the deir and wyld beistis of oure said forrest... to the utir distruction of the saidis deir and herding of the said/

2. Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 4.

3. Balfour, Practicks, i. 19.

4. Exch. Rolls, xviii. 415, 417.

5. Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 12. A variety of other examples of the steward's involvement in matters of royal taxation are to be found in this same bundle.

said forrest".(6)

John Drummond of Cargill was created a lord of parliament in 1487².(7) Although forfeited in the early sixteenth century, he was restored by parliament in 1516.(8) John Lord Drummond was probably deceased by 1520 (9), and the crown recovered effective control of the lands and estates during the minority of his successor. In 1527 the crown was providing a living for David Drummond from the revenues of his estates.(10) In the 1530s the revenues of the Drummond lands were divided among several members of the family, the principal being John Drummond of Innerpeffray.(11) At the time of this grant, David was also granted a portion of the forfeited lands.(12) His tutor during his minority was Drummond of Innerpeffray, and the wardship of his lands was held by Robert Barton of Over Barnton.(13) In 1534 Drummond had purchased the wardship of his lands from Robert Barton (14), and on 8 June, 1537 parliament confirmed the/

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6. Ibid., Box 2/Bundle 5.
 7. APS, ii. 181.
 8. APS, ii. 284, 393.
 9. Peerage, vii. 45.
 10. Drummond Castle Papers, vol. 7, section ii./Bundle 1. On 30 August, 1527 the king ordered the sheriffs of Dumbarton, Stirling and Perth to "tak inquisition of the quantite and avale of the blanchefirme lands and feu ferme lands pertaining to oure cousin" (Drummond), that "thai mai thereftir modify to him ane levying thereof according to his estait".
 11. RMS, iii. 1556-1560; RSS, ii. 1963-1969.
 12. RMS, iii. 1560.
 13. Exch. Rolls, xiv. 512; Reid, Skipper from Leith, 259-260.
 14. Reid, loc. cit.

the remission and restoration granted to John Lord Drummond.(15) David Drummond was granted the estates in 1538 and 1538/9 (16), and John Drummond of Innerpeffray made payments for the infestment of Drummond from 1536 until 1539.(17) In 1542 the Drummond estates were consolidated into the free baronies of Drymen, Drummond, and Auchtermuthill.(18) David Drummond himself had taken up the business of his various baronial courts from at least 1536, when he held court in the baronies of Drummond and Kincardine in Menteith.(19)

David Drummond was first married to a lady named Margaret Stewart, called in 1540/1 "umquhile his dearest spouse".(20) By 4 November, 1542 he was married to Lilius Ruthven, daughter of Patrick Lord Ruthven, sheriff of Perth.(21) The two had a joint grant of Stobhall and other lands in Cargill.(22) From 1540 David Lord Drummond sat in parliament, and his political life in Scotland began. His baronies of Stodgeith and Kincardine in Menteith, as well as patronage of the altar of St. Nicolas in Dunblane cathedral make him important to the ecclesiastical history/

15. RMS, iii. 1671.

16. Ibid., 1789, 1895, 1978.

17. TA, vi. 319; Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 2 passim: e.g., £1000 at Falkland on 5 March, 1535/6; 400 merks at Stirling 28 August 1536; 300 merks at Edinburgh 10 Feb., 1536/7; 100 merks at Dunbar 5 August 1537.

18. RMS, iii. 2825; Malcolm, History of the Drummonds, 90-91.

19. Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 1.

20. Ibid., Box 2/Bundle 7.

21. RSS, ii. 4969.

22. Ibid., loc. cit.; RMS, iii. 2971.

history of the area during this period of time.

The Lords Oliphant had interests in Strathearn and other parts of the country as well, particularly in Caithness. However, their impact in Dunblane is especially important for reasons of ecclesiastical circumstance and religious commitment. Since the thirteenth century the family had held the lands of Aberdalgy and Dupplin, the latter parish being in the diocese of Dunblane.(23) The Oliphants also possessed various other lands in Dunblane diocese, for example, the lands and barony of Gask. Of ecclesiastical interest is the fact that Lord Oliphant held the patronage of Dupplin, one of the three unappropriated parishes of the diocese. The Oliphants were also hereditary bailies of Inchaffray abbey in Strathearn.(24) In terms of religious commitment, through the Reformation period the Lords Oliphant were staunch Roman Catholics.

Laurence third Lord Oliphant succeeded to the title when he was under age, his father having died at Flodden.(25) Laurence married Margaret Sandilands, daughter of James Sandilands of Calder, in 1525.(26) The Sandilands were later to become firm supporters of the Reformation. He seems still to have been under age, for upon resigning lands in Perthshire to have them regranted/

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23. Peerage, vi. 529; Inventory of Kinnoull Writs, Writs of Dupplin and Aberdalgy, Bundle 1; the first charter here is 1364, but possession obviously predates this regrant.
 24. Lib. Ins. Miss., xv.; Oliphants in Scotland, nos. 119, 121.
 25. RSS, i. 236; Oliphants in Scotland, no. 110.
 26. Peerage, vi. 544-545.

regranted to himself and his wife, he received the consent of his curator, John Campbell of Lundie.(27) In 1526 he was granted lands in Caithness possessed by Andrew Oliphant of Berriedale (28), and in that same year he first took his seat in Parliament. He regularly attended parliaments in years to come, and by the 1540s was fairly involved on the national scene in Scottish politics.(29) Oliphant, like the other nobles discussed, was not a man of great influence. For example, in 1577 it was said that the Oliphants were a small family with little power and reliant on Lord Ruthven, while a few years later it was noted that the Oliphants were ancient barons, but with lands dispersed throughout the country.(30) However, Lord Oliphant's ecclesiastical involvement within the diocese coupled with the family's strong Roman Catholic position make him an important figure within the context of the ideological and ecclesiastical struggle of the Reformation in the society of Dunblane diocese. During the 1550s, Laurence Master of Oliphant was coming into his own, particularly in financial affairs. He was granted lands in Caithness by the crown in 1552/3, paying a large amount of backrent due the crown.(31) The master and David Sinclair, brother/

27. Oliphants in Scotland, no. 112; RMS, iii. 355.

28. Oliphants in Scotland, nos. 113, 114; RMS, iii. 354.

29. APS, ii. 308, et passim.

30. Cal. Scot. Papers, v. 284, 285; Bannatyne Misc., i. 65.

31. RSS, iv. 1862, ; Oliphants in Scotland, p. liii.
RMS, iv. 745.

brother of the Earl of Caithness, received a commission of justiciary in 1556/7 for the apprehension and trial of persons in Caithness accused of robbery and other crimes.(32) In the late 1550s the master was also the recipient of many military calls to arms.(33) Although Lord Oliphant was by no means disappearing from the scene, the records display the emerging prominence of his son. The master married Margaret Hay, daughter of the Earl of Errol. Her family adhered to the Roman Catholic faith through the Reformation.

The third Strathearn family to be discussed is that of Murray of Tullibardine. In the sixteenth century the Murrays were lairds, but the family was raised to the Earldom of Tullibardine in 1606, and in 1628 the descendants rose by marriage to become Earls of Atholl.(34) Powerful lairds were beginning to play a more active part in the life of Scotland, and William Murray of Tullibardine was a leading personality throughout the early years of the reforming struggle. The Murrays, like the Drummonds, were one of the larger families of Strathearn, with a large number of smaller local lairds in the area. A family involved in endless intrigue and firmly dedicated to the Protestant cause, the Murrays of Tullibardine are outstanding/

32. Exch. Rolls, xviii. 616.

33. TA, x. 336, 363, 782.

34. Peerage, i. 469, 472.

outstanding examples of the influence possible to the laird class in Scottish society.

William Murray was retoured heir of his father's lands on 23 May, 1525, and a few years later came into other Perthshire lands.(35) The family also possessed the Patronage of the chapel of Tullibardine.(36) In crown letters of the 1520s and 1530s his name was often linked with those of important landowners near or to the north of him, for example, Drummond, Ruthven, Oliphant and Montrose.(37) Tullibardine was of some force in Strathearn, and his family had for a time been stewards of that area. An ancestor had been appointed steward on 18 January, 1482/3 (38), the stewartry having been removed from Drummond. However, after the death of James III at Sauchieburn, the stewartry returned to Drummond.(39) A bitter rivalry between the two families continued for some years. In 1490 the Drummonds attacked and burned the parish church of Monzievaird, killing a number of Murrays who had taken refuge in the church. In 1500/1 the two families agreed to forgive past difficulties and a pardon was issued.(40)

William Murray of Tullibardine married Katherine Campbell, daughter/

35. HMC, 7th Report, 712.

36. SFDC, 1964, 112.

37. TA, v and vii, passim.

38. RMS, ii. 1540.

39. RMS, ii. 1759.

40. SHR, i. 218-219; RSS, i. 613; Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, i. 101*.

daughter of Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (41), and aunt of the Reforming laird, Colin. Tullibardine rose to national significance through a series of intrigues during the period of the "rough wooing". His unique contribution to Dunblane diocese during the Reformation era was his steadfast commitment to Protestantism.

In the district of Menteith there was an indigenous noble, the Earl of Menteith. The earldom was small and of little importance nationally. In 1427 Malise Graham had been deprived of the Earldom of Strathearn by James I; the larger portion of the old earldom had gone to the crown, while the remainder formed the new Earldom of Menteith, composed basically of the lands of Aberfoyle parish and part of the Port of Menteith.(42) Grahams continued to hold this earldom. John fourth Earl of Menteith succeeded his father William by the end of 1543. The death of the third earl seems to have been sudden and tragic, as well as obscure. On 23 January, 1543/4 a letter was made to John Graham of the gift of ward and lands "quhilk pertenit to umquhile William Graham, Erle of Menteith, his fader, and now throw his deceis being, or salhappin to be, in oure soverane ladyis handis".(43) John/

41. Black Book of Taymouth, 15.

42. Peerage, vi. 142-143; RBM, 1. 292.

43. RSS, iii. 606.

John Graham was formally infeft in the title on 4 January, 1546/7.(44)

In a small area like Menteith, this indigenous earl becomes important historically. His interests were near and sometimes overlapped those of his more powerful neighbour, Lord Erskine, for the earl had a principal residence on the island of Talla in the Lake of Menteith, an island which adjoined that of Inchmahome, controlled by the Erskines.(45) There were in Menteith a number of Graham lairds whose natural leader would have been the earl.

Stirling of Keir was an influential local laird in Menteith. He was more closely associated with the city of Dunblane itself than most of the families discussed. His estate of Keir was in close proximity to the city, and his progenitor William Stirling had endowed an altar in the cathedral in 1472, the altar of the Virgin Mary. The patronage of this altar remained with the family.(46) The estates which James Stirling of Keir inherited in 1539 (47) were basically intact as family lands by the second half of the fifteenth century.(48)

James Stirling's first marriage was to Janet Stirling, only daughter and heir of Andrew Stirling of Cadder. James's father had/

44. Exch. Rolls, xviii. 409.

45. RBM, i. 497-498; Cal. Scot. Papers, iv. 285.

46. Fraser, Stirlings of Keir, nos. 46, 82.

47. Ibid., no. 148; RSS, ii. 3133.

48. Fraser, Stirlings of Keir, nos. 10, 25, 31.

had been assigned the wardship and marriage of Janet Stirling upon the decease of her father in 1522 (49), and he arranged a marriage between her and his son. They were probably married after 1534, when Janet was served heir of her father.(50)

Domestic difficulties soon developed, and it became evident that Sir John Stirling's ultimate aim in the marriage was the annexation of Janet's inheritance to his own lands.(51) By 1541 divorce proceedings were begun by Janet, and on 7 December, 1541, she appeared in court, named her procurator, and made resignation of her heritable lands to James Stirling of Keir and his heirs for the "wele and proffeit of my said spous and his hous".(52) Janet paid dearly for her freedom, and the lords wished to know "quhat proffit (she)gatt thairfor". Whatever other motives she may have had, she had a lover in the person of Thomas Bishop, later to become notorious as a life-long spy both for Henry VIII and Mary Queen of Scots after her English imprisonment. After a series of legal manoueuvers the marriage came to an end on 31 January, 1541/2.(53)

James Stirling next married Jean Chisholm, daughter of the Bishop of Dunblane. The contract was drawn up through James Chisholm of Glassingall, the bishop's brother. The unique relationship/

49. Ibid., nos. 105, 119; RSS, ii. 225.

50. Fraser, Stirlings of Keir, p. 36.

51. Ibid., loc. cit.

52. Ibid., no. 153.

53. Ibid., nos. 153, 154, 156, 157, 184.

relationship with the Bishop of Dunblane makes Keir an interesting subject within the ecclesiastical context of the diocese. A variety of business transactions with the bishop strengthened this connection. Shortly before his marriage to Jean, Keir granted the lands of Strowy in the barony of Keir to the bishop and his brother.(54) The marriage contract called for the bishop to make assedation to the couple and their heirs of the teind sheaves of several lands, from 1544 for nineteen years, and the bishop was to sustain the couple for five years "in all ordinar expensis". Keir agreed not to sell, wadset, tack or make any assedation of any part of his lands without the consent of the bishop. He also agreed to seek the bishop's advice in all affairs.(55) The potential for a close relationship existed, and dealings between Keir and the Chisholms continued.(56)

James Stirling of Keir came into his own at approximately the same time as Drummond, Menteith and Tullibardine. Like these men, he was the leader of a variety of other local lairds of his family name.

The final person in Menteith to be studied represents a rather different type of situation. Stewart of Doune was not a man/

54. RMS, 11. 2042, 9 Nov., 1539.

55. Fraser, op. cit., no. 160; HMC, x. appendix, 72-73.

56. Cf. below, p. 312.

man indigenous to the area, and both he and his father, who was the first of the family to have status in Menteith, were incomers. His influence in the area was new and different from that exerted by the Murrays, Drummonds and other large families of the diocese. He was a Fife man planted in Menteith by a royal grant of office. In most ecclesiastical and political ways, Doune's influence in the area was post-Reformation, but his position and influence were significant enough to warrant his inclusion in the affairs of Dunblane diocese. After Mary's return to Scotland in 1561, Doune's career was one of increasing national importance in matters of religion and international politics.

The office of the stewartry of Menteith, unlike that of Strathearn, was in the sixteenth century held by persons from outside the area. Edmonstone of Duntreath in Stirlingshire and James Stewart of Beath in Fife each held the office for a time and struggled over its possession. James Stewart of Beath was the third son of Andrew Stewart second Lord Avandale. One of Beath's older brothers was Henry Stewart of Methven, best known as one of the husbands of the queen dowager, Margaret Tudor.(57) Methven married Margaret in 1526, and two years later the king, with his mother's consent, granted the stewartry of Menteith, castle Doune and lands, and the forest of Glenfinglas to James Stewart/

57. Peerage, v. 510-511.

Stewart of Beath.(58) To that date the office had been held by Edmonstone of Duntreath.(59) Edmonstone's difficulties began in 1525, when he refused entry to Margaret Tudor and her retinue into castle Doune.(60) The Edmonstones did not easily give up their hold in Menteith, and in 1527 the lords of council had to charge Duntreath to deliver the castle within forty-eight hours.(61) The castle and stewartry were held directly of the queen, and had in fact been part of the queen's jointure since at least the time of Mary of Guelders, who, in 1449, received Strathearn, Menteith, and castle Doune as wedding gifts.(62) Edmonstone involvement in Menteith goes back into the fifteenth century, and their loss of status here may stem from their support of Angus as well as favour for the Stewarts by Margaret.(63) The eviction of the Edmonstones required court proceedings (64), but in 1531 Beath and Duntreath came to an agreement whereby the former granted certain lands in Menteith to the latter, and in turn Duntreath renounced his claim to the office.(65) A further and complete grant of lands and offices was made to Beath in 1531/ (66)

58. RMS, iii. 612; RBM, ii. 383.

59. RSS, i. 2659; RBM, ii. 371; ADCP, 260.

60. RBM, ii. 371.

61. Ibid., 372; ADCP, 260.

62. APS, ii. 61; A. Edmonstone, Edmonstones of Duntreath, 80.

63. Edmonstones of Duntreath, 36, 81; RSS, ii. 513.

64. RBM, ii. 376, 383.

65. Ibid., 394.

66. RMS, iii. 854, 1123.

1531. Stewart of Beath's rise was directly connected to his family relationships, and in later years his son and heir was to follow the same course with considerable success. On 27 April, 1543, the lands and barony of Beath were confirmed to James Stewart, his wife and heir; the superior was the monastery of Inchcolm.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Of greater significance was the beginning of the moves that were to result in Beath's son James becoming the commendator of that abbey. The abbot, Richard Abercrombie, resigned in favour of the young James on 6 January, 1542/3.⁽⁶⁸⁾ On 31 July the regent Arran wrote the Pope petitioning him on behalf of James, a "noble and studious youth", stating that Abercrombie was "oppressed with age and weakness of mind."⁽⁶⁹⁾ On 13 August, 1543, James was made canon and abbot and was to be formally commissioned by the bishops of Moray, Brechin and Dunblane.⁽⁷⁰⁾ He was at the time probably thirteen years old. Abercrombie, despite his weakness of mind, reserved all abbey revenues to himself save £100 for James.⁽⁷¹⁾ Abercrombie died in 1549. These ecclesiastical lands were probably of great importance to the family during the years before 1561, when Doune came into undisputed possession of the stewardry of Menteith.

Meanwhile/

67. RSS, iii. 297; RMS, iii. 2915.

68. Inchcolm Charters, no. ix; Intro., p. xxxvi-xxxvii; p. 194, et seq.; HMC, vi. 635.

69. L & P, xviii (i), 976.

70. Ibid., xix (2), 85; Inchcolm Charters, nos. lxi, lxii.

71. Inchcolm Charters, p. 242.

Meanwhile, the struggle with the Edmonstones had never really lapsed. Soon after the death of James V, the position of steward was reaffirmed to Beath, but the commission was for a limited time: "makand him stewart of Menteith for all the space and termes of xix yeris nixt and immediately following the day of the date hereof" (8 January, 1542/3). (72) Notwithstanding this regrant, Beath wrote to Mary of Guise in August 1543 concerning the confusion over Doune castle. The castle had been usurped by Edmonstone, for Beath writes: "Madam, plesit your heishnes, the lard of Duntreth quham your grace hes presently your capitan in Dowin", and went on to complain that on the Wednesday past Duntreath had arrested Beath's brother who was living at Doune, "as he sayis at your grace's command". Beath was being deprived of "the prysis thereof". (73) The culmination of this rekindled hostility was the assassination of Beath by a group of Edmonstones on Whitmonday 1544 in Dunblane. (74)

Stewart interest in Menteith came to a temporary halt with Beath's death. His family found itself in a difficult financial position, but complaints and protests seem to have availed little. (75) On 30 May, 1545, Mary of Guise received the gift of the goods of the Edmonstones and others who had participated in the/

72. RSS, iii. 16.

73. Scottish Correspondence, 18-19.

74. RSS, iii. 2421, 1213; Edmonstones of Duntreath, 37.

75. HMC, vi. 671.

the attack on Beath.(76) However, by 1547 the Edmonstones had a reprieve.(77) It appears that Mary of Guise took the control of Menteith and Doune castle to herself, with Duntreath the party benefitting most from this move. It was probably in 1545 that Methven wrote to Mary of Guise saying: "It is writtin to me how your grace hes gottin the eschete of William Edmistoun quhilk is veray proffetable unto your grace because all enteres and clame that William Edmistoun allegit to have of your grace is now indowtit your". This is a reference to the Edmonstone claim to the stewartry and castle. It is also interesting that in 1545 Duntreath was summoned to underly the law for "producing of certane fals instruments".(78) Methven pled that the queen should now hold onto the claims, for in doing so "your grace may the mair esely help your servitouris, my brutheris wyff and bairnes", adding in a postscript, "Madam, pleis your grace, that all thingis partenand to my bruther sone of rycht, that your grace will keip the samyn in your handis".(79) Despite pleas by Methven and Beath's widow, the lands of the stewartry were dispersed to various persons. How much control of the area returned to Edmonstone is difficult to assess, but he certainly profitted from the situation after his remission in 1547.(80)

For/

76. RSS, iii. 1198.

77. Ibid., 2421.

78. TA, viii. 369.

79. Scottish Correspondence, 138.

80. Please see Appendix IV.

For example, in 1547/8 Duntreath was again steward of Menteith.(81) However, the keeping of the royal forest of Glenfinglas had passed to the Earl of Argyll in 1546.(82) It also appears that Edmonstone was acting as steward of Menteith immediately after Beath's death, as on 16 July, 1544.(83)

Henceforth, although there is the odd reference to the laird of Doune in public records, as when in 1544/5 closed writings were sent to James Stewart of Doune (84), Beath's son and heir is generally styled commendator of Inchcolm, or Lord St. Colme. On 1 September, 1561 Mary Queen of Scots confirmed to James Stewart of Doune the original charters of the Stewartry of Menteith granted to his father in 1528 and 1531. Although Mary of Guise had had possession of the lands for some fifteen years, upon her death a retour of the lands had been made, and Doune was apparently back in possession by August 1560.(85) Thus with the official establishment of the Reformation Church, Stewart of Doune reemerged as a force in the diocese of Dunblane.

In the detached portion of Dunblane diocese on the Forth, the parish church of Tulliallan was in the patronage of the Blackadders of Tulliallan, the local lairds. The one family of lairds/

81. RSS, iii. 2600.

82. HMC, vi. 614.

83. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 65v.

84. TA, viii. 350.

85. RMS, iv. 1392; Exch. Rolls, xix. 458-459.

lairds to control a parish within this diocese, the Blackadders had most of their own interests within the parish itself. They do not represent a large diocesan family, but were a branch of the Berwickshire Blackadders. The family had come into the estates of Tulliallan in the late fifteenth century. Patrick Blackadder married Elizabeth Edmonstone and thereby inherited half of Tulliallan, later exchanging the thanedom of Boyne for the other half.(86) Beside the patronage of Tulliallan, the Blackadders also had the patronage of two chaplainries in Glasgow (87), and the uncle of the Reformation laird of Tulliallan was Patrick Blackadder, archdeacon of Glasgow.(88) Also, Robert, the brother of the first laird of Tulliallan, had been Glasgow's first Archbishop.(89)

In 1530 John Blackadder of Tulliallan was involved in a conspiracy to murder James Inglis, abbot of Culross. He was tried by Argyll, Montrose and Erskine in Edinburgh, where he was beheaded.(90) His son and heir John was under age at his father's death.(91) Before 1544 John was married to Margaret Halkerston, for in that year he resigned his estates to have them regranted to himself and his spouse. Through the mid-sixteenth century the parsonage of Tulliallan was held by David Paniter, Bishop/

86. Beveridge, Culross and Tulliallan, ii. 320; Douglas, Baronage, 288; RMS, ii. 1644.

87. RMS, ii. 3153.

88. Ibid., loc. cit.; Med. Fasti, 173.

89. RMS, ii. 2723; Knox, History, i. 8 et seq; Med. Fasti, 149.

90. Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, i. 151*, 275*.

91. RMS, iii. 1128.

Bishop of Ross. John Blackadder had a fairly close relationship with Paniter, serving as his factor.(92) Tulliallan's ecclesiastical connections were varied, but he is primarily of interest because of the patronage of the parish church. Although a minor character of the times, his history contributes a picture of a local laird's involvement in the ecclesiastical changes of the time within the diocese of Dunblane.

Very little is known about a large number of local families who would have had some influence within a specific parish. In some cases, notably the Scotts in and around Monzie, they contributed clergy to the reforming movement in significant numbers. Many are only known in any ecclesiastical sense as farmers of the parish teinds.(93) However, many of the local lairds were members or supporters of the major families already discussed.(94) Because of a generally consistent family loyalty, most of these smaller lairds could be expected to follow the lead of the head of the family. This course of events did usually happen and will be pointed out at various times. This lead was also followed by smaller lairds who were dependent clients of the larger families.(95)

A/

92. ADCP, 600; RSS, iii. 1948.

93. See Appendix V.

94. Some of the lairds of the area were: Murrays of Arngask, Abercairney, Tibbermore, Octertyre, Newraw, Strowan; Drummonds of Myllnab, Cardny, Balloch, Bordland, Megour, Monzie, Innerpeffray; Grahams of Gartmore, Boquhopill, Gartavertane, Inchbraiky; Oliphants of Gask and Arquhaillye; Stirling of Ardoch, Keir's brother.

95. e.g., Burdons were dependent on Drummond, Seton of Tullibody on the Erskines. Cf. below, p. 321-323.

A variety of persons and families will of necessity enter the picture of diocesan history in succeeding chapters, as they become important within the context of events.

Several major families outwith Dunblane diocese exerted influence within the diocese. The Earl of Argyll was one such person. Through Campbell of Glenorchy in Breadalbane and several Campbell lairds within the diocese, as well as through his own interests in castle Dollar and the parish of Strogeith (96), he was a formidable outside power. He was said in 1560 to have great influence over the Bishop of Dunblane.(97) In the event, this influence seems much overrated. Later, through the marriage in 1562/3 of Stewart of Doune to Margaret Campbell, the Earl of Argyll's sister (98), the interests of Doune and Argyll were often to coincide. The Earl of Montrose also was of some influence within Dunblane diocese. While generally associated with the North country, he did have a castle in Kincardine in Strathearn where he spent considerable time. As noted above, he was often called upon along with Ruthven, Drummond, and Murray to remedy unlawful situations in Strathearn. Despite influence in Strathearn, his history really belongs to a different part of the country. The Earl of Rothes held one of the three unappropriated parishes in Dunblane diocese, but did not possess the local influence of the/

96. Rental Book of Perthshire (1649), 96; There were Campbell lairds of Argatie, Lawers.

97. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 881.

98. Ibid., i. 1163.

the Oliphants or Blackadders, who controlled the other two parishes. His domain was basically in Fife. Greater local influence was exercised by the Lords Erskine, particularly through the commendator of Inchmahome and the proximity of their estates to Menteith.

However, surviving diocesan records reveal the real influence to be of a mainly local nature. Local family loyalties assured the place of Murrays, Drummonds, Stirlings and Grahams. It was those to whom local people owed immediate loyalty and who were the recognised powers within their own region who shared real influence with the people of the diocese. This study is presented with the hope of establishing something of the nature of this local influence, without too great an emphasis on the rather distorting power held by major magnates outwith the diocese.

PRECURSORS OF REFORMATION

In this and succeeding chapters the seven Dunblane diocese families discussed above will receive the bulk of examination. At different periods of time one will emerge and another recede, as the factor of available historical documentation colours accounts of various situations. Because only rarely did these families entertain any idea of national prominence during this period, their involvement in religious and political issues is all the more interesting. Emphasis is given to David Lord Drummond, for his was the major indigenous power, and his history brings to light a variety of political, ecclesiastical, and social phenomena current in Dunblane diocese, reflecting that area's interest in and reception of the Reformation.

It would be surprising if the years from 1517 to 1560 were void of any anticipatory signs of revolt in a country influenced by economic and political ties to the continent and to its old enemy of England as well. The establishment of the college of justice represented the old continental and papal ties, and was a device used by James V to exploit papal fear of Reformation.⁽¹⁾ After Solway Moss in 1542 English influence became a primary concern of the conservative faction of Scotland; and English influence entailed Protestant propaganda. English military assistance/

1. Gordon Donaldson, James V-VII, 46-48; R.K. Hannay, The College of Justice, 51-58.

assistance was required in 1560, when the Reformers established a government which subscribed their own doctrinal position.(2) As the French and English vied for political influence in Scotland, so new religious ideas were contesting the established church. The Scottish Reformation neither began suddenly nor culminated immediately. The Lutheran continental Reformation, Calvin in Geneva, and the English Henrician Reformation all had some influence in Scotland.

Protestant doctrinal influence in the years prior to 1560 was centered strongly in the burghs of the East coast. Here men who engaged in commerce by sea came into contact with the new ideas, and into these areas Protestant books and propaganda had their entry. Long before 1560 this foreign influence was noted. In 1525 parliament passed an act forbidding persons arriving in Scotland by ship to bring with them any of Luther's works or to dispute about the new heresies, save to refute them. This act was to be published in all ports and burghs, where indeed the feared books were finding their way and continued to do so.(3) Although the diocese of Dunblane lacked major seaports and large burghs, reforming ideas which entered the nearby burghs of Perth and Stirling doubtless spread some distance around these towns and therefore into portions of the diocese. It has been asserted that Perth and the country around it was more infested with heresy/

2. Knox, History, i. passim; APS, ii. 525 et seq.
 3. APS, ii. 295, c 4; ADCP, 423.

heresy than any other part of Scotland.(4)

Certainly a variety of heretical and anti-clerical incidents arose in Perth during the pre-Reformation period. In 1536 John Blacat and George Luwett had hanged the image of St. Francis at the Greyfriars monastery in Dundee; later the two were sought in both Dundee and Perth.(5) The following year a friar of the Charterhouse in Perth fled to England and on to the continent because of his rejection of his order and the old faith.(6) A burgess of Perth, John Cameron, was escheated and declared a heretic in 1539.(7) In January 1543/4 Governor Arran and Cardinal Beaton held a justice ayre in Perth. Knox says that a great number of accused heretics were called before them. The bishop of Dunblane was one of those sitting in judgement with several other ecclesiastics.(8) It is reported that four men and a woman were executed, accused of having eaten a goose on Friday.(9) Calderwood says that they were accused of meeting to hear and discuss the Scriptures. One of the accused had interrupted a friar during his sermon, while others were accused of hanging the image of St. Francis. Besides these five, several others were banished (10), among them a burgess of Perth, John/

4. Keith, History, i. 99.

5. TA, vi. 307.

6. Calderwood, History, i. 113-114.

7. RSS, ii. 3033.

8. TA, viii. 258.

9. Knox, History, i. 55.

10. Calderwood, History, i. 171-175; TA, viii. 258.

John Eldar. The day after the trial he received a remission for disputing on the Scriptures and dishonouring the Virgin Mary.(11) Perth was thus the scene for many pre-Reformation troubles, culminating in Knox's sermon of May 1559 and the rebellion which followed. These events must have been known and discussed in the surrounding areas.

In other places in and around Dunblane diocese evidence of heresy existed. In 1538/9 Walter Cousland, a burgess of Stirling, was convicted of heresy. He paid £20 composition to have his own goods returned to him after they had been escheated.(12) A few days later the gift of the goods of William Forester, son and heir apparent of John Forester, another burgess of Stirling, was granted to John Cowan in Stirling. Forester had been convicted of "certane poyntis" of heresy.(13) Others, including David Graham and James Watson, were accused at the same time.(14) Thus burghs to the north and the south of Dunblane had been infected with the new ideas.

A celebrated case of heresy among the clergy involved a vicar pensioner from Dunblane diocese and several clergy from the area surrounding. Sir Thomas Cocklaw was the parish priest of Tullibody. He had apparently been married for some time to Margaret/

11. RSS, iii. 612.

12. RSS, ii. 2923; TA, vii. 77.

13. RSS, ii. 2975.

14. Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, i. 216 .

Margaret Jameson in the same town, although, to keep this breach of canon law hidden, they dwelt in separate houses. In 1538 the situation was discovered, and the Bishop of Dunblane accused Cocklaw. He was imprisoned but escaped and fled to England, where he is said to have become a minister.⁽¹⁵⁾ The country around Tullibody and Dollar had apparently experienced a strong move toward reforming ideas, for two canons of Cambuskenneth became Protestants and also fled the country. One of them, Dene Robert Logie, used money hidden at Tullibody by sir Thomas Cocklaw to make good his escape.⁽¹⁶⁾ Logie in turn had been a confederate of Dene Thomas Forret, canon of Inchcolm and vicar of Dollar, another heretic. Two Blackfriars and sir Duncan Simson, a priest in Stirling, were summoned along with Forret by Cardinal Beaton and the Bishop of Dunblane. These men were ultimately punished with death in Edinburgh. The fact that these heretical clergy were associated with one another is demonstrated by one of the charges brought against them. It was said that some of them had attended the marriage of sir Thomas Cocklaw. On 17 January, 1538/9, the goods of Cocklaw were gifted to James Murray, servant of the king, and on 8 April, 1539, he also received the escheat of Margaret Jameson.⁽¹⁷⁾ Margaret had failed to do penance perscribed for her acts of heresy.

The Tullibody area was prominent in producing pre-Reformation/

15. Calderwood, History, i. 123-124.

16. Ibid., 124.

17. Ibid., loc. cit.; RSS, ii. 2858, 2987; TA, vii. 79; ADCF, 482, 484.

tion heretics. Dene Alexander Seton, a Black Friar in St. Andrews and the brother of the laird of Tullibody, was preaching against the "corrupt doctrine of the Papistry" and teaching Reformed doctrine in the mid-1530s. He had been James V's confessor, but when accused of heresy, was forced to flee to England where he continued to teach "the Evangel in all sincerity certain years".(18)

These cases of heresy involving persons in Perthshire and Stirlingshire indicate that new opinions were not limited to burghs, but made their appearance in a variety of places. Particularly where parish priests were involved, as at Tullibody and Dollar, the parishioners must have had some experience of the new ideas, and when the official Reformation came, were not altogether surprised by what happened. Even in rural areas like Dunblane diocese, heretical opinions were espoused long before the political forces of 1559-1560 brought about the establishment of a new church. Cocklaw was the forerunner of many of his brethren who were parish priests in this diocese and who were to conform to serve as Protestant clergy after 1560.

The Reformation was preceded by political change and turmoil, as well as by the spread of new beliefs. During the 1540s several incidents occurred which reflect the attitudes of the laymen of Dunblane/

18. Knox, History, i. 19-23; Laing, Knox Works, i. 531-533.

Dunblane diocese to reform and the gradual reshaping of opinion concerning the English. The Battle of Solway Moss ushered in a turbulent eight years which witnessed the death of James V, dispute over the regency, shift in political and religious opinion by Arran, the delivery of the young queen to France, and the "rough wooing", a harsh period of English revenge for broken promises. During this period, both national and local events illustrate the progress of change within the diocese.

Solway Moss was a military disaster. Not only did the Scots lose the battle decisively, but many Scottish nobles were taken prisoner and carried into England. In London they were treated to English attempts at bribery, for Henry VIII hoped to purchase the support of a segment of the Scottish nobility for amity with England and the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots to his son, Edward. Among the prisoners taken was Laurence Lord Oliphant (19), who was to return to Scotland and live through the Reformation period. First at Newcastle, the prisoners were moved on to London. En route Oliphant became ill or "crased" and slowed the journey.(20) Perhaps because of this unfortunate episode, he received from the English twelve gold and twenty-four silver "cramp rings", a device intended to forestall illness.(21) In London a financial investigation was made of the prisoners. Oliphant's/

19. L & P, xviii (1).22; xvii.1163 (2); Acts of the Privy Council (English), 1.69; Diurnal, 25.

20. L & P, xvii.1163 (2); Hamilton Papers, 1.258.

21. Acts of the Privy Council (English), 1.73; L & P, xviii. 231.

Oliphant's value was given as 2000 merks in goods and 2000 merks per annum from his lands. By comparison, Glencairn had £1000 in goods and 3000 merks per annum, Maxwell £2000 in goods and 4000 merks per annum, while Lord Gray had £600 in goods and 1000 merks per annum. A local Dunblane laird, Seton of Touch and Tullibody,(22) had no goods and £100 income per annum.(23) Ransom for Oliphant was set at 800 merks sterling and his son was to come and lie in pledge for him.(24) Oliphant signed an agreement to work in Scotland to promote the English cause (25), but the English had no illusions that he would be easily managed.(26)

Back in Scotland, Oliphant attended the parliament of March 1542/3, where it was agreed to send Queen Mary to England when she reached the age of ten. Among others attending were Ruthven, Drummond, and the Bishop of Dunblane.(27) This success for Henry proved temporary, for his hope that the Scottish prisoners would become the "perfite foundation" for the unity of the kingdoms did not come to fruition.(28) In an age of vacillation, a promise made under duress was less than binding, and Oliphant did nothing significant to further the English cause. Cardinal Beaton had been arrested in January 1542/3, but during the Cardinal's imprisonment some nobles and many churchmen had convened in an alternative/

22. Cf. below p. 322-323.

23. State Papers of Henry VIII, v. 233-234.

24. Ibid., loc. cit.; Rymer, Foedera, xiv. 796.

25. L & P, xviii (1) 37; Hamilton Papers, i. 277.

26. Sadler Papers, i. 212, 262.

27. APS, ii. 410 et. seq.; L & P, xviii (1). 664.

28. State Papers of Henry VIII, v. 271.

alternative convention. They had accepted the official parliament only when it became evident they could not prevail on their own. Menteith, Huntly, Argyll and others joined in this conservative attempt.(29) By July a large group of nobles had joined with the Cardinal in a bond of mutual defense, lest the governor should "put at" them. Among others signing this bond were Menteith, Drummond, Ruthven, Stirling of Keir, the Bishop of Dunblane and Lord Erskine.(30) The disapproval of Arran's dealings with the English represented in this bond was taken seriously by the governor. In August he wrote to Henry asking that the pledges for Oliphant and others simply be kept in England, which arrangement would "nocht allanerly hald the saidis lordis (now being in number of thame that has usurpit) in grete feir and dreid to attempt aganis the commoun weill of this realm, but sall inlikwis keip utheris noble men at hame, quhais power and counsale is necessar to the downsetting of the insurrection".(31) Henry responded that he had no desire to see Oliphant's son released, for there would then be no check on the father's movements.(32)

By the end of 1543, the English alliance was quickly coming to an end. In a move intended to counter growing English influence on Arran, the French had sent the Earl of Lennox to Scotland in/

29. L & P, xviii (1). 305.

30. Hamilton Papers, i. 446.

31. Ibid., i. 463; L & P, xviii (2). 77.

32. Hamilton Papers, ii. 4, 6; L & P, xviii (2). 116.

in April 1543.(33) The July following his return Lennox had signed the Cardinal's bond. Arran eventually aligned with Beaton, and by autumn 1543 Lennox was left with no major conservative ally. Thus the French inspired claimant to the regency found himself supported chiefly by Henry VIII and various Scottish Protestant sympathisers. In January 1543/4 Lennox and a large group of followers assembled at Leith, ready for a battle with governor Arran which never ensued.(34) Later remissions demonstrate that Drummond, Ruthven, and Oliphant were all in the Douglas-Lennox army at this stage.(35) Drummond and the large group of Drummond lairds present might well be expected to follow Ruthven and the people of the burgh of Perth, but Oliphant's presence is more difficult to explain. He seems to have had little liking for the English and none for Protestantism. He may simply have favoured Lennox over Arran.

Failing any decisive battle at Leith, the pro-English faction was forced to terms, and decrees were issued calling on Angus and others to provide surety for themselves by 15 January. Murray of Tullibardine was bound under pain of 5000 merks (36), and was specifically forbidden to ride with Lennox.(37) By the spring of 1544 Lennox was rapidly losing ground. Although he/

33. Leslie, History, 173; Knox, History, i. 51.

34. Hamilton Papers, ii. 149; Knox, History, i. 51.

35. RSS, iii. 2170.

36. L & P, xix (i). 30; State Papers of Henry VIII, v. 358-359.

37. TA, viii. 254.



he intercepted French supplies at Dumbarton and took Glasgow, his supporters were slipping away. From Dunblane diocese only Tullibardine seems to have remained with him(38). Far from being regent, he was reduced to the status of rebel and erstwhile hopeful. Lennox had offered to work for the English "without respect to any former covenant with the French King". Henry was to be made protector of Scotland, Lennox was to be governor, and the Word of God was to be preached in Scotland.(39) Forced to leave Scotland, on Whitsunday 1544, Lennox, in company with Tullibardine, the Bishop of Caithness and other followers, departed from Dumbarton.(40) For Lennox the prospect was marriage to Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret Tudor and Angus; for Tullibardine the prospect was exile. After a further ill-fated attempt to take Dumbarton in August, Lennox's activities were confined to England. Tullibardine was for several years to be classed in the role of the Anglophile Protestant; he was to gain a certain notoriety for his activities in England during the next few years.

Meanwhile, a dispute of a more local nature, but one still possessing political, and even religious features of national significance, erupted at Perth. In this struggle Drummond's connection with the Ruthvens became crucial, for his brother-in-law was the Master. The Ruthvens seem to have become involved with/

38. Lesley, History, 183.

39. L & P, xix (1). 243.

40. Lesley, History, 183.

with the new heresy affecting the East coast. In 1544 Patrick, Master of Ruthven, was discharged from his office of Provost of Perth. In his stead was placed John Charteris, the candidate of Cardinal Beaton. Although the townspeople favoured Ruthven, the governor and Mary of Guise placed Lord Gray and Norman Leslie in charge of enforcing the change. It has been said that the use of Gray was designed to divide the Protestant sympathisers around Perth who were the cardinal's enemies. Lord Ruthven possessed "a knowledge of God's word", and Lord Gray "used the company of such as professed godliness, and bare small favour to the Cardinal".(41) A pitched battle between the Master of Ruthven's followers and those of Gray and Charteris ensued on 22 July. Lord Drummond took up the cause of his brother-in-law and fought beside Ruthven.(42) Just how much religious attachment played a part is hard to judge. For Drummond it was probably more of a family affair than anything else. However, his willingness to fight along side his brother-in-law, even if he were suspected of heresy, cannot be overlooked. As he was to demonstrate in 1559-1560, Drummond chose carefully the times he would participate in military activity. On one occasion, when called upon to serve the queen in battle, possibly during the siege of Leith by Lennox, he was at pains to point out that calls to arms were not easy to obey, for he was "bot ane young man/

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41. Knox, History, 52-53; Spottiswoode, History, i. 148; D. Hay Fleming, "Mr. Andrew Lang and the Murder of Cardinal Beaton", Contemporary Review, 74, p. 386.
 42. Diurnal, 34.

man...and als my frendis will nocht pas with me bot gif I mak thair expensis".(43) However, this monetary difficulty had not prevented his appearance with Lennox or his later participation with Ruthven at Perth.

In 1547 a Ruthven-Charteris dispute errupted again, and a case was heard by the privy council over the disputed teinds of Kinfauns. Lord Ruthven, the Master of Ruthven, and once again Drummond, with their friends and servants, appeared. Opposing them were Lord Gray and Thomas Charteris of Kinfauns. A panel was appointed to decide the case, while two of the more troublesome participants of the feud were to be "put furth of the boundis" by the two parties.(44) The close connection of Ruthvens and Drummonds is further demonstrated here; the significance of this relationship will be noted again.

Scotland laboured under the harsh effects of the "rough wooing", and in 1545 parliament pledged loyalty to the French oriented government and forbade Scots to assure with the English. This parliament was attended by the new Earl of Menteith, as well as Ruthven, Angus and others who were once again participating in government.(45) An action of treason was raised against Lennox. It was significantly Lord Ruthven who appeared for David Drummond, asking that the latter be not prejudiced by action/

43. Scottish Correspondence, 24, 55; cf. below p. 89-90.

44. RPC, i. 68-69.

45. APS, ii. 455 et seq.

action taken against Lennox.(46) In June 1545 letters of treason had been issued against Lennox and Tullibardine (47), and in that month an abortive military raid was made on the English. Drummond is said to have been in the rear guard of this action along with Ruthven.(48) The only effect of the forfeiture of Lennox on Drummond seems to have been a change of superior of his lands in Dumbarton from Lennox to Montrose.(49) Furthermore, he was the recipient of several gifts of escheat during 1546, indicating that he was on reasonably good terms with the government.(50)

While the situation in Scotland was thus producing something like a credible government, two men with Dunblane connections were exiled in England with Lennox. Both Thomas Bishop, the husband of Stirling of Keir's first wife, and Murray of Tullibardine were seriously involved in the business of espionage. Tullibardine's efforts found some favour with Henry, and in November 1544 he was granted license to repair to Carlisle "to procure certain friends and servants to come to him for the stay of his family in Scotland".(51) The king went so far as to express affection for the laird, due more perhaps to his fondly nourished hopes for Scotland than to any personal attachment to Tullibardine.(52) In point of fact the meetings with Tullibardine's/

46. Ibid., ii. 456.

47. TA, viii. 384.

48. Diurnal, 40.

49. RSS, iii. 1446; RMS, iv. 346.

50. TA, ix. 15, 16.

51. L & P, xix (i). 243.

52. Ibid., 547.

bardine's friends and family were designed to allow him to spy for the English.(53) In Carlisle he officiously attempted to supervise the work of other agents. For example, when James Colquhoun, a servant of Lennox, arrived on 15 November with a message for Lennox from Angus, Tullibardine "seamed sumwhat to suspect him to be towards the Cardinal" and thought he might be a Scottish spy. These allegations were not altogether dismissed, for Colquhoun and his letters were sent on to the English privy council for examination.(54) As Colquhoun was indeed a true servant of Lennox, this action of Tullibardine may help explain Lennox's later bitterness toward him.

That Tullibardine was an Anglophile and strongly opposed to Cardinal Beaton is not in doubt. An incident illustrating his active participation against the Cardinal during the Lennox struggles of spring 1544 was recalled with the arrival of a relative at Carlisle. John Murray, who had been sent home to Scotland for necessities, returned to Carlisle on 20 December, 1544.(55) He brought with him a letter from the laird's wife which dealt in part with an incident in May 1544. Beaton had been traveling from Kincardine to Falkland when, near the kirk of Dunning in Dunblane diocese, Tullibardine and his accomplices had come upon him, taking from him a silver cross and other items/

53. Hamilton Papers, ii. 351.

54. L & P, xix (2).618; Hamilton Papers, ii. 361.

55. L & P, xix (2).705.

items intended for St. Andrews and valued at £2800.(56) The cross had not accompanied the laird into England, and some difficulty was experienced in bringing it through hostile territory and across the border. By December, however, it was in Cockpool and ready to be brought to Carlisle, possibly in company with the laird's wife.(57) The cardinal had been reimbursed in the spring of 1545 by grants of land belonging to Tullibardine.(58)

Tullibardine's wife, Catherine Campbell, made an impact of her own. For reasons unexplained she was said in 1544 to be "much cherished with the Dowager of Scotland".(59) By 9 December she was at Carlisle. She was accompanied by a woman servant of Mary of Guise, who had come to plead the case of her father, who was imprisoned in England.(60) Whatever useful information Catherine may have brought was sent on to Henry in January.(61) If Catherine was truly favoured at court, she may have had it in mind to bring her husband back with her. Whether or not the possibility of return and switch in loyalty was discussed or contemplated, within two months of his wife's visit to England, the laird was under suspicion from the English. However, he continued in his work, although by late January 1544/5/

56. ADCP, 539.

57. L & P, xix (2).705.

58. RMS, iii. 3105

59. L & P, xix (2).709.

60. Hamilton Papers, ii. 383; L & P, xix (2).705, 713.

61. L & P, xx (1).79.

1544/5 his value at Carlisle was seriously in doubt. It occurred to the English privy council that he might be of more help in Scotland, where the Solway Moss prisoners had pointedly failed. His return home was conditioned on the provision of hostages.(62)

However, suspicious concern about the laird was growing so rapidly that on 1 February, 1544/5 the English privy council ordered that an errand be devised to send Tullibardine to them. Meanwhile, information about him and his activities was to be gathered.(63) The laird's erstwhile leader, Lennox, and the earl's secretary, Thomas Bishop (64), worked on sending Tullibardine on his errand. Afterward they were to send whatever material they could gather to charge him.(65) Hereafter Tullibardine was in effect under house arrest.(66) By 1545 Scottish adherents to the English cause had dwindled considerably (67), and among the remnant suspicion and accusation were rife. Tullibardine had been warded with Westmorland (68) and was growing concerned about the investigation of his activities. In early spring he wrote to Shrewsbury (69) complaining about the investigation, "quilk greffis me sor".(70) The plea fell on deaf/

62. Ibid., loc. cit.

63. Ibid., 129.

64. Please see Appendix VI.

65. L & P, xx (i). 167.

66. Hamilton Papers. ii. 408. L & P, xx (i). 236.

67. In February 1545 Angus had changed sides and led the Scottish victory at Ancrum.

68. Member of the council of the North.

69. President of the council of the North.

70. L & P, xx (i). 314.

deaf ears. In fact Tullibardine's brother Davie was put in ward with him, having been declared disaffected toward the king.(71) Suspicion by the English had brought no credit in Scotland. In June 1545 letters of treason were issued against Murray and the case against him and Lennox was to be continued in September.(72) The case against Tullibardine was regularly continued by the parliament (73), dragging on through September and into December.(74) In effect, these continuations left the possibility open for the laird to return and make amends. This move may not have been accidental, for the Scots may have seen Tullibardine as a potential loyalist, as opposed to Lennox.(75) Thus English suspicions of the laird may not have been without foundation. The laird's wife may have been acting for him here in Scotland. She had returned from England and in April 1545 wrote a letter to her husband.(76) However, the Scottish council kept close watch on Catherine, restricting her movements during 1545.(77)

By April and May 1546 the evidence against Tullibardine had/

71. Acts of the Privy Council (English), i. 206.

72. TA, viii. 384, 403.

73. APS, ii. 457-459. Lennox was forfeited on 1 October, 1545, found guilty of treason and lese majesty by consorting with the English and attempting to subjugate Scotland, as was Thomas Bishop.

74. APS, ii. 452-459b, 463b.

75. Diurnal, 41, states that while Lennox was forfeited on 1 October, 1545, Tullibardine was "respletit"

76. L & P, xx (i). 525.

77. Chronicles of the Tullibardine Family, vol. I. 16.

been gathered by the English council (78), and he was accused of being "addicted to the Kinges Majistes enemeyes of Scotlande".(79) Unable to present a credible defence, Tullibardine was sent to the fleet and an enforced life at sea. This punishment was of short duration, for in Scotland a new situation opened new possibilities for Tullibardine's usefulness to the English, and by July he was dismissed from the fleet by order of the council.(80) Three weeks later he received a payment from the council of £25.(81)

In Scotland events had taken a dramatic turn, when on 29 May, 1546, Cardinal Beaton was slain in his castle in St. Andrews. This act received only minimal support both within and outwith Scotland, although Lennox had seized Dumbarton at about the same time. Most of the laymen of Dunblane diocese cooperated with the government. Drummond apparently answered calls to arms to prevent a feared English invasion during this period (82), and he continued to carry out commissions of justiciary in Strathearn.(83) He and Ruthven also attended the parliament of March 1546/7, which appointed a rotating system of councillors to remain with the Governor.(84) Little is/

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78. Acts of the Privy Council (English), i. 394, 418; L & P, xxi (1). 678.
 79. Acts of the Privy Council (English), i. 432.
 80. Ibid., 485; L & P, xxi (1). 1302.
 81. Acts of the Privy Council (English), i. 511; L & P, xxi (1). 1433.
 82. RPC, i. 54-55; TA, ix. 53, 54 et passim.
 83. Exch. Rolls, xviii. 415, 417.
 84. APS, ii. 598.

is known of Oliphant's activities, save that in 1548 he seems to have been united with the Scottish effort to resist the English.(85) In October 1546 Blackadder of Tulliallan had sailed with Mary of Guise's secretary, David Paniter, Bishop of Ross, to the continent. He traveled under special protection as one of the kin, friends, servants and factors Paniter took with him.(86) Blackadder's close association with Paniter during this period would seem to indicate a conservative stance. The Earl of Menteith as well was cooperating with the government during the castilian period, and cooperation was needed, for it was a time of civil unrest. He signed a document of the privy council designed to protect the much harassed royal messengers in 1546/7.(87) In August 1546 he had been called to attend the governor in St. Andrews and presumably obeyed.(88)

In September 1546 Mary of Guise sent Scottish ambassadors to Henry's court to attempt an arrangement for peace. For Henry, the condition for any peace was the lifting of the siege of St. Andrews.(89) In October the Scots made ready to send commissioners to England to conclude a treaty. Failing this, they were to leave for France to obtain French protection against/

85. CSP, Domestic Addenda, 1547-1565, p. 394.

86. RSS, iii. 1935, 1948.

87. RPC, i. 60.

88. TA, viii. 476.

89. L & P, xxi (2). 12; Thorpe, Cal. of Papers Relating to Scotland, i. 59, 60.

against Henry.(90) One of the commissioners was David Paniter; it was in this connection that he, Tulliallan and others had received passports for England and France. Despite his Catholic sympathies, Mary of Guise feared that Paniter might be "a creature of the Governor" (91), and the real power was vested in Sir Adam Otterburn, a diplomat of some experience. In England the Scottish commissioners were subject to consistent delays by the English government, while Henry waited on news of St. Andrews. By 17 November they had still seen neither king nor council. Meanwhile, the castilians had an ambassador in London in the person of Norman Lesley, son of the Earl of Rothes. On 17 November Stewart of Doune was sent by Mary of Guise to the commissioners in London.(92) Although still a young man he was already involved in politics and presumably securely on the conservative side. In light of Doune's failure to gain his father's place in Menteith, the journey to England may have been an attempt to secure his loyalty to the crown.

Paniter may have had some sympathy for the castilians. This at least seems to have been the case with one of his supporters. Although little is known of Blackadder's religious feelings during the 1540s, he was involved minimally with the castilians./

90. L & P, xxi (2). 211; RPC, i. 44.

91. L & P, xxi (2). 380.

92. HMC, vi. 636.

castilians. In 1552/3 he was granted a remission for receiving, aiding, and communicating with Robert Lesley, son of the Earl of Rothes, and for art and part in the slaying of Beaton.(93) Lesley was at the time at the horn. Because Blackadder's general political attitudes during the late 1540s were conservative, it may be that he had some affinity for the castilians for religious reasons.

With the majority of Scots giving the government some support, it is not surprising that most of the men of Dunblane diocese should support it as well. The major exception was Murray of Tullibardine. The murder of Beaton may well have precipitated his release from the fleet, for Henry hoped for a general uprising in Scotland. With Beaton removed, Tullibardine's primary enemy in Scotland was out of the way. Negotiations for his return home were pursued by the English privy council and Henry, and it became apparent that Tullibardine's return was calculated to coincide roughly with English relief for the castilians.(94) In September another reward amounting to £26/13/4 was delivered to him.(95) Tullibardine promised to give much service in Scotland.(96) His return home seems to have been uneventful, and he settled into a normal life. Apparently a respite or remission had been arranged. Within a year/

93. RSS, iv. 1877.

94. L & P, xxi (2). 122; State Papers of Henry VIII, i. 871-872.

95. L & P, xxi (2). 199 (56); no. 775, f. 90.

96. Ibid., 122; State Papers of Henry VIII, i. 874.

year he was pursuing his regular duties, such as fulfilling a commission of justiciary to deal with one William MacIntyre in August 1547 (97), and another commission issued to him and to Drummond and Montrose in November.(98) The Scottish government was not in a strong position, for there were English strongholds in Dundee and other places, and could ill afford strong action even against Tullibardine. He did not forget his Protestant English connections, for in 1547/8 he was again implicated in cooperation with the English. An English agent writing about the "assured Scots" mentioned particularly Lord Gray and his delivery of Broughty Castle to the English. The agent praised Gray and his affection for Edward and went on to say: "it should encourage him and give hope to others that he and his assisters might receive both thanks and benyvolens, among whom he says the lord of Tullybarne is chief".(99) Tullibardine was making some attempt to fulfill his agreement with the English, and he seems to have persisted in a genuine belief in their cause. He continued to engage in subversive activities, as when he carried a message from the disaffected Argyll to Gray in March 1547/8.(100)

The period of continual struggle was drawing to an end, and on/

97. Exch. Rolls, xviii. 416.

98. Ibid., 417.

99. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 192.

100. Ibid., 194.

on 24 March, 1549/50, the treaty of Boulogne provided that the English evacuate their remaining strongholds in Scotland, and the "rough wooing" was at an end.(101) A semblance of order had been established in the country, and a new attempt to win over men with English and Reformation sympathies was made by Mary of Guise. Part of this scheme was to take a group of notables to France, hoping to wean them from their English affections; nearly all of them had such leanings.(102) Tullibardine was one of those who received a passport for the voyage, which contained a protection, respite, safeguard, and exemption, clearing the way for a realignment of loyalty.(103) Also among those sent was Tullibardine's old ally, Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness and brother of the Earl of Lennox.(104) The other man from Dunblane diocese who went on this journey was the Earl of Menteith.(105) Murray's inclusion needs no explanation, for he had been consistently troublesome for the government. Menteith, as far as public records have revealed, had been generally loyal. He had had a fairly close relationship with Mary of Guise; in 1548 she had registered a marriage contract whereby she undertook that her servitrix, Marian, daughter of George Lord Seton, would wed John Earl of Menteith. John and Marian/

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101. M. H. Merriman, "The Assured Scots", SHR, 1968, 11.
 102. Gordon Donaldson, James V-VII, 80.
 103. RSS, iv. 887; cf. TA, ix. 438.
 104. RSS, iv. 883.
 105. Diurnal, 50.

Marian were to be wed within twenty days of 8 October, 1548, and Mary of Guise was to pay a tocher of 2500 merks. It is possible that Menteith had become interested in Marian Seton during Mary Stewart's brief stay on Inchmahome in 1547.(106) Menteith may have expressed some tendency to the reforming movement, for both he and Tullibardine were later to exhibit a genuine zeal in the new faith. The earl may be an example of Lord Methven's belief that "part of the legis has tayne new apoynzionis of the scriptour and has don agan the law and ordinance of haly kirk".(107) There is one other incident which reveals a pro-English tendency in Menteith. In 1553 a remission was issued to him for failing to attend the army in its drive to recapture Haddington in 1548. This remission also covered a variety of crimes common to the period, one of which was assuring with the English.(108) While Menteith does not seem to have engaged in the English conspiracies to the same degree as Tullibardine and many other Scots, this remission and the trip to France indicate a tendency against the interests of the French orientated government.

Drummond as well was subject to a good deal of pressure from Anglophile sources and may have come under suspicion. In 1547 the Master of Ruthven was prepared to cooperate with the English/

106. Lesley, History, 200.

107. Scottish Correspondence, 241.

108. RSS, iv. 2026.

English if "well entertained", and he offered as well to "compas" his father and Lord Drummond.(109) Previous examples of Ruthven influence on Lord Drummond indicate that this was not necessarily an idle promise.

The early 1550s was a period of increasing French influence in Scotland, culminating in Mary of Guise's reception of the regency in 1554. She ^{had} returned from France in November 1551. Tullibardine applied for a passport to return through England the next month, along with his ten servants.(110) The trip to France, whatever its immediate results, had little long term affect on either Tullibardine or Menteith. The transfer of power from Arran to Mary of Guise came in April 1554.(111) Among others attending this parliament were Menteith, Stewart of Doune (as commendator of Inchcolm), the Bishop of Dunblane, Ruthven and the master of Ruthven, the commendator of Culross, and Lord Erskine. Among the powerful weapons Mary of Guise had at her disposal was French gold, as used on the earlier trip to France by the Anglophile Scottish nobles. Arran received a discharge for all intromissions since 1543 (112), signed among others by the Bishop of Dunblane, Menteith, the commendators of Culross and Inchcolm, Erskine, Ruthven, the Master of Oliphant, Tullibardine, and Drummond of/

109. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 107.

110. CSP, Foreign, 1547-1553, 516.

111. APS, ii. 600 et seq.

112. ADCP, 629-631.

of Innerpeffray. Archbishop Hamilton was compensated for giving up the treasurership (113), and it may be that other smaller gifts were used to help secure the loyalty of various persons. For example, on 22 November, 1554, Mary of Guise, as liferenter of Menteith and Strathearn remitted the mails of those districts due from Drummond.(114)

Thus there had been a settlement with the English and an increase in the power of the French in Scotland. Mary Tudor's succession to the throne of England in 1553 removed that country for several years as a serious Protestant threat to Scotland. These political changes, perhaps some purchased loyalties referred to above, the general leniency of Mary of Guise to the Protestants, and her considerable governmental skills, all contributed to the fact that few events reveal political or religious bias during the mid-1550s. There is little information concerning English or Protestant sympathies among the laymen of Dunblane diocese during this period.

The lack of available evidence for such involvement should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the seeds of uprising and Reformation had already been planted. The cases of heresy mentioned above, and the Anglophile tendencies of several of the men discussed date from the 1540s, but these tendencies may merely have lain dormant until the late 1550s, when/

113. Gordon Donaldson, James V-VII, 83.

114. Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 10. The total amounted to £34/9/4.

when political and religious events again focused attention on a new alliance. The conservative posture of the bishop would not appear to make this diocese a fertile breeding ground for Reformation, but there were those places in and near the diocese where long before 1560 new opinions were being considered and discussed. Elements of reforming opinion had entered the diocese and even tainted the local clergy before Knox ever preached a sermon in Scotland. Politically, the constant struggle for loyalty, with the government forced alternately to rely on the English and French must have given ample scope to those who felt their loyalty was due only to a government which could enforce its will. Stirling of Keir, the Earl of Menteith, and Blackadder of Tulliallan, had all received remissions for assurance with the English. Drummond's close association with the Ruthvens must have made him suspect, and the influence of his wife's family was an important element in his political life. His situation reflects the importance of immediate loyalties, the influence of family and kin, and the strength of local ties.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ The singularly rebellious nature of Tullibardine's experiences during the 1540s, his extensive contacts with the English and Henrician reformers, and his continued support of the Anglophile Scots make him the most overtly Protestant orientated person discussed. On the/

115. Cf. below p. 312, et seq.

the other hand, Oliphant, despite a temporary espousal of Lennox, remained conservative throughout the period. Nevertheless, the majority of those persons who were vitally important to the local families within Dunblane diocese had already shown signs of disaffection with the old alliance and old religion. These signs were precursors to the events of the crucial years to come, when Protestantism and English military power united to reshape the religious and political life of Scotland.

THE REFORMATION ESTABLISHED

"Now is the day of his battle in this realm."(1)

The battle coming was the culmination of many years of unrest, political intrigue, and the continued growth of Protestantism in Scotland. In the final years of the 1550s a new church was developing in the country, with several preachers openly proclaiming the reformed interpretation of the Gospel.(2) Knox was in Scotland in the middle of the decade and in 1556 preached at castle Campbell in Dollar, where one of his hearers was Campbell of Glenorchy.(3) On 3 December, 1557, Argyll, his son and heir, Morton, Glencairn and Erskine of Dun signed the "First Band of the Lords of the Congregation", promising to support and sustain the Reformed church. Although the Congregation was to develop into a military force only later, the course was set.

Concurrent with the Protestants' assertion of their religious rights came a new series of border struggles with the English, and calls to arms rivalled the days of the "rough wooing".(4) For example, among others to receive the call to rally at Lauder with ten days victuals, as the country prepared for an invasion in February 1557/8, were Drummond, Ruthven, Tullibardine/

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1. Knox, History, i. 170.
 2. Ibid., 120 et seq.
 3. Ibid., 123.
 4. TA, x. passim.

Tullibardine, the Master of Oliphant, Stirling of Keir, and Drummond of Innerpeffray.(5) The commendator of Inchcolm was one of those ordered to "big dikis and fowseis and to have stafe slungis in the reddiness to the portis thairof" in preparation against attack.(6) War continued intermittently, for example, there was a battle with the English at Fala Mure in September 1558 (7), but Scottish loyalty to France was in doubt. The Scots had already demonstrated that they had no wish to invade England even with French assistance.(8)

Whatever the shift in loyalties, the laymen of Dunblane diocese do not seem to have been active in the early formation of the Congregation. Drummond gave whatever political support he pledged to the Regent, for even in the late 1550s his favour with her was demonstrated by the receipt of gifts of escheat. For example, in 1557/8 he received the escheat of all the goods of Umfra Rollok and James Kettill in Farnoch, two men fugitive from the law.(9) Stirling of Keir appears in the same light. He was the bishop's son-in-law, and the bishop was one of the regent's strongest supporters. On 21 December, 1557, Mary of Guise commanded Alexander Lord Hume to infest Stirling and his wife in the lands of Inverallan, lands left by the deceased and heirless/

5. Ibid., 336.

6. Ibid., loc. cit., i.e., to build walls and trenches and have catapult weapons prepared.

7. Ibid., 382, 385-386; preface, lxxvii.

8. Knox, History, i. 125.

9. RSS, v. 344.

heirless John Hume of Hutounhall.(10) The Bishop of Dunblane may have perceived that the Reformation was coming, and he continued to deal in land. On 12 May, 1557, he granted a tack to his daughter Jean (wife of Stirling of Keir) of several lands in the parish of Dunblane, some of which were the same as those in the wedding contract of Jean and James Stirling. This tack was a renewal for "all the dais of thair lifymes" of a fourteen year lease.(11)

For Blackadder of Tulliallan an important situation had developed. When David Paniter died in 1558, Blackadder lost his position as factor of Cambuskenneth and the income that entailed. Within a month of Paniter's death, Blackadder and others decided to seize one last opportunity for gain from the abbey. They entered the abbey and took what they could of the moveable possessions for their own use.(12) The sacking of religious houses was not unknown and was sometimes done for religious reasons. There would appear to be no religious motivation here, however, and it is more likely that the former factor of the institution was involved for reasons of financial gain. The laird's perspective on religious institutions was one of monetary involvement, both at the church of Tulliallan and this abbey. Religious premises held no sanctity for him, for he had no qualms in looting Cambuskenneth. It/

10. Fraser, Stirlings of Keir, no. 188.

11. Ibid., no. 187.

12. TA, x. 402-403.

It is uncertain whether he fulfilled the order "to restore and deliver the gudis and geir" taken. The death of Paniter had a further effect on Blackadder, for it left vacant the parsonage of Tulliallan. When the new parson was presented is unclear, but the next man known to have held the parsonage was the laird's second son, Patrick, who was probably presented to the benefice soon after Paniter's death. Patrick Blackadder may have been a student in St. Andrews in 1541 (13), but there is no indication that he served as an active clergyman in either the old or new church. The earliest reference found where he is styled parson is the Bruce of Wester Kennet Papers for 1575; he is also so designated in a testament of 1579.(14) Patrick held the parsonage until his death.(15) It is almost certain that he was in possession of the parsonage before 1567, for after that year men presented to benefices were to be practicing Protestant clergy (16), and another man was minister at Tulliallan then. The fact that no religious duties were attached to the benefice is indicated by John Blackadder's testament. Explaining why the division of his goods and gear was to be between his younger sons, Blackadder confirmed that the older sons had already been provided for; Patrick "be gevin of the parsonage of/

13. St. A. Univ. Rec., 247.

14. Bruce of Wester Kennet Papers, no. 64; Edin. Tests., 11 June, 1583.

15. Edin. Test., 28 July, 1599.

16. APS, iii. 23, c 7.

of Tullilane".(17) The value of this benefice was £30, a figure that actually represented three quarters of the fruits of Tulliallan. The other quarter was due the bishop of Dunblane by virtue of a thirteenth century arrangement.(18) In the late 1550s a dispute over this quarter had arisen, and Paniter claimed that when he had been presented by Blackadder and admitted by the bishop, there had been no burden on the fruits. The presentation was apparently during the bishopric of James Chisholm. William Chisholm, current Bishop of Dunblane, had taken the case before the Official of St. Andrews to regain his quarter of the fruits. The case then went before the Lords of Council, who ruled in the bishop's favour. The matter ultimately went to Rome; the defendants (Paniter and Blackadder) did not appear, and Chisholm retained the quarter.(19)

While recourse was still being had to the courts of the old church, the evangelistic work of the Protestant preachers continued, and their power grew. In July 1558 a demonstration of popular support in their favour prevented the regent from taking action against them.(20) Popular demonstrations against "idolatry" continued, but the Franco-Scottish alliance seemed secure when parliament voted to send the crown matrimonial to Francis in November 1558. Among those attending this parliament were/

17. Edin. Tests., 28 May, 1580.

18. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 201.

19. NLS Charter no. 2303; BA, fo. 285v.

20. Knox, History, i. 126; Calderwood, History, i. 344-345.

were Menteith, Drummond, Ruthven, Erskine, the Bishop of Dunblane, and the commendators of Culross, Inchaffray and Inchmahome.(21) Six months later the religious and political troubles in Scotland developed into open rebellion.

Knox returned to Scotland in early May 1559. Mary of Guise had again summoned the preachers to compear at Stirling on 10 May, for Perth and other burghs had "embraced the Reformation". The regent feared civil rebellion and hoped to intervene by summoning the preachers. Once again a group of Protestants assembled to defend their clergy, passing with them to Perth while Erskine of Dun preceded them to Stirling. Knox met the Protestants at Dundee and accompanied them to Perth. The preachers did not go to Stirling and the multitude remained at Perth. On 11 May Knox preached a sermon which signalled the beginning of the rebellion. Mob violence erupted, and religious property in the city was despoiled.(22) Howevermuch Knox may have interpreted these events as signs of religious ardour, to Mary of Guise they must have appeared as civil rebellion. After the sermon the Protestants dispersed, leaving Knox in Perth to instruct the people. When it became evident that the regent intended to proceed against Perth, some of the Protestants returned "for the comfort of our brethren", (23) and began to prepare a defense for the burgh. They sent a letter to the regent/

21. APS, ii. 503 et seq.

22. Knox. History, i. 159 et seq.; Spottiswood, History, i. 271-272.

23. Knox, History, i. 164.

regent pleading for a change of mind but proclaiming; "except this cruelty be stayed by your wisdom, we will be compelled to take the sword of just defence against all that shall pursue us for the matter of religion".(24) Letters were also sent throughout the country announcing their intention to stand firm.

A setback was experienced by the Protestants on 24 May when Ruthven (the provost of Perth) defected to the regent. The following day Argyll, James Stewart, the prior of St. Andrews, and Lord Sempill came to Perth from Mary of Guise seeking the meaning of the revolt.(25) They were informed that no resistance was intended if the townspeople could practice their faith in peace. Although the regent had forbidden any assemblage in Perth, Glencairn, Ochiltree and a large group of men from Kyle and Cunningham approached the city to defend the Protestants. The situation was difficult, but an accord was reached on 29 May; both sides agreed to disband and no French troops were to enter Perth.(26) Notwithstanding this agreement, the regent's forces entered Perth on 30 May. Ruthven was removed from office, and John Charteris of Kinfauns ("a wicked man, void of God's fear") was appointed provost.(27) This move was apparently to counter Ruthven's Protestant sympathies. Earlier in the month Ruthven had claimed that he was unable to suppress Protestantism/

24. Ibid., 164.

25. Ibid., 172-173.

26. Keith, History, i. 200.

27. Knox, History, i. 179.

Protestantism in Perth, for he could not, "cause them do against their conscience".(28) Thus the situation had become similar to that in the 1540s, with yet another Ruthven-Charteris feud over the provostry.

A major result of the entry into Perth was the desertion from the regent of Argyll and James Stewart.(29) They were Protestants anyway, and their attendance with Mary of Guise had been a matter of loyalty and a willingness to support legitimate authority against rebellion. It is no surprise that Ruthven deserted with them. Before the acquisition of these men by the Protestants, the bulk of Protestant support had come from Perth, Dundee, and the West country. Now it became easier for other areas to join them, notably Perthshire and Dunblane diocese. From Dunblane diocese came two important Protestants: the Earl of Menteith and Murray of Tullibardine.(30) These men, "in God's presence, did confederate, and bind themselves together, faithfully promising to assist and defend another against all persons that would pursue them for religion's sake". Tullibardine's Protestant sympathies came from his earlier days in England. There is little evidence regarding Menteith's previous convictions, but the fact that he joined the four other men indicates that his sympathies and religious views were Protestant before he actually sided with the militant Reformers. He/

28. Ibid., 159.

29. Ibid., 180; Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 469.

30. Knox, History, i. 180.

He was the second of the diocesan lay leaders to espouse the Reformation openly, following Tullibardine's lead.

Ruthven's return to the Protestants, and particularly a new dispute over his office in Perth, opened the way for the support of his brother-in-law. Following a stand-off and respite in Fife, the Protestant army conferred on how best to retake Perth. Knox says that "it was concluded that the brethren of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathearn should convene at Saint Johnston the 24th day of June" to take Perth. Among others convening at Perth for the siege were Menteith and Campbell of Glenorchy.(31) Also present and apparently joining the Reformers for the first time was Lord Drummond.(32) There is no confirming evidence that Drummond's support was given for religious reasons. His main motivation may have been to stand by Lord Ruthven over difficulties involved in Perth itself. He had done exactly that in the 1540s (33), and Ruthven was now one of the military leaders of the brief and bloodless seige which ensued. Drummond can hardly have been unaware, however, that he was placing himself in a position of open rebellion against the regent and the French alliance, and he may have realized that his actions also carried strong religious connotations. The Scots were already negotiating for English support (34), and in a letter to them of 1 July, 1559, Kirkcaldy of Grange noted/

31. Ibid., 188.

32. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 474.

33. The situation at Perth in the 1540s was discussed in the previous chapter.

34. Andrew Lang, "Knox as Historian", SHR, ii. 122.

noted that Drummond, Menteith, Tullibardine and Ruthven were of the Congregation.(35) The struggle for Reformation had become a case of open rebellion against government authority, and three leading laymen of Dunblane diocese had at this point taken a stand with the Protestants. Others may have done so as well, but proof of such actions has not been discovered.

The regent's view of the troubles arising at Perth in May is given in a letter sent to Drummond as the steward of Strathearn under the names of Francis and Mary.

"Forsamekle as our darrest Modér Marie Guene dowarriere and regent of our realme and lordis of our secret counsale ar specelie adwertis that certane sedicious and evill disposit personis havand laittlie aganis all gud ordour spulzeit and cassin down the religious places within the burgh of Perth persserverand in their wickit interprise intends to fortify thame selffis within the burgh and furth of the same to make incursionis upon utheris placis in the cuntre there about to hery and destroy oure lieges and there throw commit manifest rebellion and insurrection aganis or autoritie..... (Drummond is charged to)....pas to the mercat croce of the heid burgh of Strathearn and other neidful places and proclaim and charge all between sexty and sixteen bodin in feir of weir in their best array convene at Auchterarder the xxiii day of may instant with 15 dais firrnessing next eftir their cuming to pas forwart to Sanct Johnsoune with our said derest moder....foir repressing of the said rebelioun and insurrection".(36)

The words of this letter conform to Knox's report that Mary of Guise complained, "that we meant nothing but a rebellion", and that she stressed the attack on the Charterhouse at Perth.(37) At this point (in May) Drummond may have been in the regent's army/

35. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 480.

36. Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 12. Given at Stirling 17 May, 1559.

37. Knox, History, i. 163-164.

army. It was led by Chatelherault and d'Oysel and was at Auchterarder in the middle of the month.(38) Drummond's change of sides would thus have been similar to that by Menteith and Tullibardine, but for less obviously religious reasons. Yet like these others, he too may have had Protestant sympathies, for on 22 May an English agent reported that many with the regent were of "like religion and kindred with the other faction".(39)

Occupying Perth at the end of June, the Reformers moved on Edinburgh. At the end of July a truce was arranged between the regent and the Reformers, and in August and September French reinforcements arrived. Also arriving from France in September was Chatelherault's son, James, who was a Protestant and the Reformers' hope of gaining the allegiance of the Duke. In a letter to the English secretary, Cecil, James tells how he met his father, Argyll, and Lord James Stewart at his father's house in Hamilton. Proceeding to Stirling they met the rest of the Congregation; among the "principals" were Menteith, Alexander Gordon, the commendator of Inchaffray, and Ruthven.(40) The reference to Menteith as a principal is important, for it places him among the foremost Protestants. He was not a powerful noble, and the strength of his support rested upon his commitment to the cause rather than his personal power. Chatelherault joined the Congregation on 19 September and subscribed/

38. Ibid., 175.

39. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 457.

40. Ibid., 599.

subscribed a letter of that date to Mary of Guise, warning her not to fortify Leith. Among the others signing were Menteith and Ruthven.(41) On 24 September Tullibardine was one of those signing a letter giving Maitland of Lethington power to treat with the English, as did Alexander Gordon, Ruthven, and Menteith.(42) Clearly Menteith and Tullibardine were the early leaders from the diocese to take a firm stand for the Reformation and to support it consistently. Other supporters were to come to light shortly, but meantime, the early aid given by Lord Drummond seems to have disappeared.

Led by Chatelherault, the Protestants entered Edinburgh again in October. Menteith and Ruthven arrived on the eighteenth, while groups of supporters arrived at various times.(43) On 19 October the Protestants sent a letter to Mary of Guise insisting that the French evacuate Leith. Among those signing this letter were Menteith, Ruthven, Alexander Gordon, Tullibardine and Stewart of Doune (signing as the commendator of Inchcolm).(44) This signature is the first positive indication that Doune had made a decision for the Reformation. Doune's cousin, Andrew Lord Ochiltree also subscribed the letter, and had for some time been/

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- 41. Knox, History, i. 230.
 - 42. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 543.
 - 43. CSP, (For), 1559-1560, 130.
 - 44. RPC, xiv. 168.

been a leading Protestant.(45) It is possible that he may have had some influence on Doune (46), as may have Lord James Stewart, who was also related to Doune. If the lairds of Keir and Tulliallan had made a decision on the Reformation by this time, that decision is unknown. Lord Oliphant remained a conservative Roman Catholic throughout the Reformation period, but he appears to have been inactive in the political and military battles of 1559. Drummond's apparent absence in Edinburgh strengthens the possibility that his actions in June may have been motivated by his brother-in-law's needs in Perth.

The Protestants proceeded to suspend the regent, and a "great council of the realm" was established to govern the country. This council, "erected by common election (of) Erles lordes and barons presently convened at Edenburge", included ten councillors, among them Tullibardine and Ruthven. Some of the other persons presented as possible council members were Alexander Gordon and the laird of Glenorchy.(47) This burst of activity was short, the Protestant army began to drift away, and by the end of November the remnant had withdrawn to Stirling. It became evident that the Scottish Protestants would not be able to accomplish a change of government without outside help. While in Edinburgh, the army, "for the most part.... men without God/

45. For example, he had with Glencairn ridden to the aid of Perth in June. (Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 474.) He had been one of those seeking English assistance and was a faithful Reformer.(Ibid., 494, 551, 599.)

46. Feu-Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 13v. They certainly had business dealings. In August 1559 Doune, as commendator of Inchcolm, had granted lands in Fife to Ochiltree.

47. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 551.

God or honesty", had created considerable unrest and trouble, and had threatened Tullibardine and others who tried to control them.(48)

During the closing months of 1559, negotiations for English assistance were pursued by Maitland of Lethington. Wishing to be sure of the situation in Scotland, the English asked which nobles had declared against the French. Lethington provided a list of such men which included Menteith, Doune, Ruthven, Alexander Gordon, and the commendator of Culross. The English hoped to ensure Scottish loyalty by holding voluntary hostages from among their supporters. The Scots protested that their word alone should provide sufficient trust, particularly since they had now accepted the Reformation and shared a common religion with England, but they provided a list of possible hostages. One suggested as a hostage was Tullibardine's son, Andrew; another suggested and finally chosen was George Graham, son of the Earl of Menteith.(49) The hostages represented the families of some of the leading Reformers. Along with George Graham went Chatelherault's second son, Argyll's uncle, Glencairn's son, Ruthven's son, and Lord James Stewart's half-brother, Robert Douglas.(50) These hostages were transported to England by the English Admiral Winter in April 1560.(51) The arrangement was pleasant enough, the Scots asking that their children be/

48. Knox, History, i. 257.

49. CSP, (For.) 1559-1560, 485.

50. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 646; CSP, (For) 1559-1560, 703, 903.

51. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 707.

be schooled at either Oxford or Cambridge during their sojourn. Young Graham, only five years old, was housed with the Dean of Durham. Menteith expressed concern about his son, and an English agent wrote: "the Earl of Mounteth humbly sues your grace that his son for his tender years sake remain near the border, that he may send some of his (sic, probably relatives or servants) to see and hear oftener from him".(52) Menteith had good relations with the English and was respected as a Reformed leader by those south of the border as well as north of it.

Scots commissioners, among them Ruthven, met the English in February 1560 to draw up a treaty. Some of the signatories to a list of instructions given to the commissioners were Menteith, Tullibardine, and Alexander Gordon.(53) The February treaty was ratified in May by a large group of Scots, including Menteith, Doune, Alexander Gordon, and the commendator of Culross.(54) The continued absence of Drummond during this crucial period is difficult to explain. He may have had conservative sympathies, or perhaps his own cautious nature caused him to avoid military conflict where he had no personal interest. He may also have felt a continuing loyalty to Mary of Guise.(55) While consultations over the treaty with the English were in progress, it was reported that Huntly had begun to reform religion/

52. Ibid., 744; CSP, (For.) 1559-1560, 1034(3).

53. Knox, History, i. 310.

54. Ibid., 308.

55. Cf. below p. 337-338.

religion in the North, and a large group of northern lords had agreed to do as he advised, including Drummond and Oliphant.(56) However, Huntly himself was a most dubious Reformer and a political fence sitter, for the instructions to the Scottish commissioners included the following:

"In case it be inquired (By the English) of all byelayers, and in special of my Lord Huntly in the North, ye shall answer in general, a good hope is had of the most part thereof; and touching my Lord of Huntly in special, ye shall show how he has sent writings to my Lord of Arran, with a servant in credit, to assure him of his credit".(57)

If Huntly was only uncertainly committed, Oliphant was opposed, and Drummond seems to have made no commitment at all. Drummond's lack of commitment continued up until the August parliament. Whereas in the summer of 1559 he had been "one of the principal that set St. Johnston at liberty", a list of nobles denoting their alliance in 1560 placed him among those "newtar" and "doughtfull to whather parte they will encline".(58) Other neutrals on this list were Huntly, Errol, and Erskine, while the committed included Menteith and Ruthven. The district of Strathearn was considered basically Protestant.

In April English forces met at Preston with the Scots, whose leaders included Menteith, Ruthven and Ochiltree, and possibly Doune, Alexander Gordon and the commendator of Culross.(59) During/

56. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 647.

57. Knox, History, i. 309.

58. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 480; Hamilton Papers, ii. appendix, xxxix.

59. Knox, History, i. 312; Keith, History, i. 267 note.

During a siege of the regent's forces, the Scots signed the "Last Band at Leith", pledging to "set forward the Reformation of Religion" and to expell the French. Among the many signatories were Menteith, Alexander Gordon and Ruthven.(60) Huntly also signed, after considerable delay and much persuasion.(61) Tullibardine's name is surprisingly absent; not surprisingly, so is Drummond's.

In April Mary of Guise withdrew to Edinburgh castle, held by the neutral Erskine, and French commissioners arrived to attempt a negotiated settlement. Many Scottish nobles, including Menteith and Ruthven had already pledged themselves to Elizabeth, able to offer no recompense but "our service while our lives endure".(62) Little is known of the activities of the lairds of the diocese during this period. Tulliallan seems not to have committed himself to any overt action. He had an interest in ecclesiastical property, and may have been uncertain which way to turn. However, earlier assistance he had given to the castilians indicates that his sympathies may have been with the Reformers in 1560. Stirling of Keir faced a dilemma; married to the conservative bishop's daughter, he may not have sided openly with the Reformers until after the cessation of hostilities.

The treaty of Edinburgh was concluded between the French and English in July 1560. It made provision for a Scottish parliament/

60. Knox, History, i. 315.

61. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 756.

62. Ibid., 754.

parliament to be ratified by Mary and Francis. Parliament was summoned in July and convened in August. Among the lords of the articles for the parliament were Tullibardine, Alexander Gordon, Ruthven and Erskine.(63) A list of twenty-four persons was drawn up, from whom the council should be selected, some by the king and queen and some by the estates. One of those on the list was the earl of Menteith.(64) Although ultimately not chosen for the council, this preliminary selection gave him a certain eminence, for he was styled one of the chief "regentis" in a parliamentary procession to the tolbooth.(65) Attending and participating in the parliament were Tullibardine, Menteith, Doune, Colville, and Alexander Gordon (66), all of whom were committed to the Protestant cause during the revolution. Knox included Alexander Gordon, William Colville, and Stewart of Doune among those commendators who had "renounced Papistry and openly professed Jesus Christ with us".(67) There was a large and unusual attendance of lairds at parliament. Tullibardine, as well as Murray of Balvaird, attended; Stirling of Keir was also present. These lairds represented a strong sympathy for the Protestant cause, and Keir's attendance can be considered an open subscription to the new faith. Tulliallan did not attend/

63. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 879.

64. CSP (Foreign), 1560-1561, 429 note.

65. Diurnal, 62.

66. APS, ii. 525; Keith, History, iii. 5.

67. Knox, History, i. 335.

attend, although his neighbor, Wardlaw of Torry, did. The strongly Roman Catholic Lord Oliphant was absent, as were the master and any Oliphant lairds. The most disconcerting absence from the sederunt is that of Drummond and the Drummond lairds. During the spring and early summer of 1560 all that is known of Drummond's political activities is the vague promise given to support Huntly in his attempt at reform. Since his participation in the siege of Perth a year earlier, Drummond had not been a leader of the Congregation, and was even a dubious follower. This lack of activity may have been more for political reasons than for religious; Drummond's real interests at Perth were probably the local and kin tie with Ruthven. As the rebellion expanded to national dimensions, his involvement decreased proportionally. Drummond may have felt a genuine loyalty to Mary of Guise. A gift from the regent in 1560 is interesting. On 19 March, a letter was issued to Katherine and Lillias Drummond, daughters of Lord Drummond, granting them the marriage of Patrick, Lord Drummond's heir. On 28 March a gift of the ward and nonentry of several lands was granted to the children of George Lord Seton, one of the few nobles openly to support Mary of Guise.(68) The phraseology of both grants is similar: "Ane lettir maid for the gude, trew and thankfull service done to oure soveranis and thair dearest/

68. Hamilton Papers, ii. appendix, xxxix; Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 566.

dearest moder....be thair lovit cousing David, Lord Drummond, in furthsetting of thair autorite and divers uthiris wayis".(69)

As hostilities drew to a close, Drummond's inactivity brought him difficulties. In April and May Argyll had been raising 1000 men to support the siege of Leith (70), and Drummond failed to appear as expected at Stirling. As a result, he received some "token of unkyndness" from Argyll, indicating that his lack of commitment was becoming tiresome. If Drummond were uncommitted or indolent, his wife was an activist. She rode to Perth in early June to explain to Lord James Stewart that her husband's absence was due to illness. She further promised that her eldest son would join the congregation within seven days.(71) If Drummond had suffered a sustained illness, it could explain his inactivity during the spring, but this illness is not mentioned at any other time. Drummond had virtually no part in the final stages of the rebellion, and he was even late for the Protestant parliament. Although not on the sederunt, he arrived in Edinburgh on 14 August, three days before the confession of faith was ratified.(72) This late arrival and the lack of Drummond lairds on the sederunt indicate a family united in either political caution/

69. RSS, v. 774, 782.

70. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 743.

71. Ibid., 812.

72. Ibid., 881; Knox, History, i. 338. Drummond is said to have arrived in Edinburgh on the same day as Lords Yester and Somerville, but these two appear on the sederunt. Knox says that Somerville was one of those who claimed he would "believe as our fathers believed".

caution or religious conservatism. Political caution seems the more likely possibility. Drummond showed no qualms about taking possession of old church lands to his own benefit. Within four months of the parliament he had obtained a tack of the abbey and lands of Inchaffray from Alexander Gordon. Drummond seems to have made no effort to forestall the active participation of several canons in the Protestant church, and he eventually became responsible for the payment of the pensions of the canons of the abbey.⁽⁷³⁾ Still very much in the background in national politics and something of a religious enigma, his influence in Strathearn was increased by this new appropriation.

The conservative view was represented at the parliament by the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane. Apparently Stirling of Keir and Bishop Chisholm took openly opposing positions at this time. Oliphant expressed his view by his absence, but the Protestants had never placed any hope in him. As late as June 1560 he had still made no contribution to the rebellion. He was preoccupied with local feuds, and Randolph reported that he had "dyscorded" with the laird of Moncrieff. This feud with Moncrieff, a matter of the fruits of the church of Dunbarney, was to continue for many years. According to Randolph, this affair had set a good many Scots against Oliphant. Lord Oliphant's failure to support the/

73. Inchaffray Charters, Intro., p. xcv., c.

the Protestants during the battle caused no great concern to the Reformers; it was observed that the cause would not be greatly hindered "thought he never come".(74)

With the Protestant victory of 1560 came the impressive rise in national prominence by James Stewart of Doune. His career and fortunes during the reign of Mary of Guise had been static, for he had never gained the stewardry of Menteith after the death of his father. However, after the death of the regent, a retour of the lands pertaining to the stewardry of Menteith awarded them to Stewart of Doune, as shown by a responce for these lands and offices dated 3 August, 1560.(75) It would seem that Duntreath's claim to the stewardry rested in the person of the regent, while the investigation of 1560 honoured the grants made to Beath and his heir in 1528 and 1531. With the news in December 1560 that Francis II had died, the tenor of Scottish politics changed, for it now seemed likely that the Scots would have to face a resident and Catholic monarch. In January, 1560/1, the first Book of Discipline was submitted to a convention of nobility and lairds, but was rejected because of its demands to restore church income to ecclesiastical usage within the new church. However, on 27 January a group of nobles and lairds did subscribe the book, including Menteith, Alexander Gordon and the commendator of Culross/

74. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 812.

75. Exch. Rolls, xix. 458-459. Doune made a nominal payment for this grant of 2d.

Culross.(76) The Prior of St. Andrews was commissioned to go to France and left Scotland in March 1560/1. A few days before his departure, an English agent provided to secretary Cecil a list of those who would accompany the prior. Stewart of Doune was on the list, and this journey represents the first of several diplomatic missions in which he was to be a key figure. Among the biographical data given, it was mentioned that Doune, a bachelor, was thought to be preparing to marry the daughter of the laird of Grange.(77) Doune seems well accepted as one of the firm Protestants, for Kirkcaldy of Grange was a leader of the movement and one of the first to seek English aid for the cause in 1559.(78) The mission to France was important, for the state of religion and politics in Scotland was unsettled; the atmosphere surrounding Mary's return was crucial to the Protestant cause. The Diurnal states that "James commendatore of Sanct Calmes Inche" was one of those who "tuke thair voiage to the realme of France throw Ingland be poist, to desire the quenis majestie of Scotland to cum in the samin".(79) Lord James returned to Scotland in May, but Doune remained in France. He seems to have been favoured by both Mary and the prior at this point, and, as a Stewart, was beginning to utilize his family connections to his benefit. He provided a link in communication/

76. Knox, History, i. 344-345; ii. 324.

77. Diurnal, 64.

78. Andrew Lang, "Knox as Historian", SHR, ii. 122; Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 471, 480.

79. Diurnal, 64.

communication between the queen and her brother, and was able to keep the prior informed on activities in France. In July 1561 the English ambassador to France, Nicolas Throckmorton, wrote to Cecil concerning Mary's return to Scotland, warning that "she means rather to steal away than to pass with force". With this letter Throckmorton forwarded one of Doune's to the prior (80), a letter which arrived in Edinburgh in early August.(81) A letter from Randolph in Scotland significantly designates Doune as Lord James's kinsman. This letter spoke of Mary's expected return to Scotland. The Protestants feared her return, and had hoped to gain some assurance about religion from her before her arrival, but she had directed Doune that no settlements were to be reached.(82) On 11 August, 1561, Throckmorton expressed Mary's desire to rectify any grievance between her and Elizabeth. Mary sent a conciliatory letter to Elizabeth with Doune and Mr. Arthur Erskine. She had conferred with Throckmorton on 8 August about the contents of the letter, hoping to ascertain the proper answers Doune could "declare to queen Elizabeth".(83) Soon after 8 August Doune was off to see Elizabeth and present Mary's letter and explanation over the difficulties of ratifying the Treaty of Edinburgh.(84) Elizabeth's answer was written on 16 August, while Mary was on/

80. CSP, (For.), 1561-1562, 337(7); Another letter of Doune's to the prior had been written in June, Ibid., 267.

81. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1003.

82. Ibid., loc. cit.

83. CSP, (For.), 1561-1562, 395 (1) and note.

84. Ibid., 404.

on her way secretly to Scotland. Doune had assured Elizabeth that Mary intended to follow the advice of her council in Scotland, and for this Elizabeth had agreed to suspend her "concept of unkindness".(85)

Doune arrived in Edinburgh with a safe conduct for Mary to travel through England four days after Mary herself had arrived.(86) She had been expected at the end of August, and on the 7th letters had gone to the nobility and barons, calling them to be in Edinburgh "witht thair honorable cumpaneis to the Quenis grace enteres furtht of France agane the last day of August". Such letters had gone to Menteith, Tullibardine, Drummond, Keir, and Oliphant.(87) With her arrival, a new period in Scottish political and religious history began, and the tenuous existence of the Protestant church became a matter of immediate concern for its supporters.

85. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1006.

86. Ibid., 1010; Knox, Works, vi. 128; CSP (For.), 1561-1562, 455 (2).

87. TA, xi. 61.

THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE

The years under Mary Queen of Scots were uncertain ones for the Reformed church, for there was fear of a counter Reformation led by a Catholic monarch. The new church had been established with the military assistance of the nobles, and there was always the threat that Mary's leadership could turn Scottish political leaders back to former ways, leaving the new and tenuously established church without its defenders. Mary's reliance on the Catholic French increased Protestant fears that international plots and intrigues would work against them. The old church surrendered a third of its revenue to the crown and new church, but it remained intact as the endowed ecclesiastical organization in Scotland. The majority of the diocesan hierarchy and beneficed men of Dunblane gave their support to the old church (1), although much of this support may have been more for financial than religious reasons.

Protestant fears upon Mary's return seemed justified, when on 24 August, 1561, she "causit say mes in hir hienes chappel within hir palace of Halyrudhouse".(2) When Lord James Stewart ("The man whom all the godly did most reverence") actually assisted her by blocking the chapel door to those who would remove her priests, "the lordis of the congregation wes grittumlie/

1. As shown in chapters V, VI, and VIII.

2. Diurnal, 66.

grittumlie annoyit". Mary quieted the fears of the Protestant Lords all too quickly for Knox.(3) However, James Stewart had his political career to consider, and his relationship with Mary was of primary importance. For other Protestant leaders as well, economic and political matters became the foremost concern.

James Stewart of Doune had already experienced a new prominence, and this was to increase on Mary's return. His place in Menteith was also assured when on 1 September, 1561, a charter passed the Great Seal confirming to him the grants made to his father of the stewartry of Menteith.(4) It was probably at this time that Doune produced a letter written to his widowed mother by Mary of Guise. In the letter Mary of Guise said she had sent a messenger to the governor "to call for justice in the mater".(5) The letter was probably part of the evidence he gathered to support his claim to the stewartry, for he himself apparently added this note: "The quenis majesties lettir to my moder, aeftir the slauchter of my fathir, to be schawin to the quenis majesties that is present."(6) During this autumn Doune was preparing for another trip to France. Randolph indicated that Mary was dependent on France for/

3. Knox, History, ii. 12.

4. RMS, iv. 1392; RSS, v. 833.

5. i.e., in regard to the death of Stewart of Beath.

6. HMC, vi. 671.

for advice in governmental matters, and said: "From France comes her whole council; thither goes St. Colm to fetch a new lesson".(7) His departure was delayed, for it was thought that France might be sending an ambassador to Scotland (8), but by late October it became evident that he would go.(9) Mary was busy enough with his departure to postpone an audience with Randolph on 11 November. Randolph's impression of Doune was not particularly good; he described him as "gentle and honest enough, yet suspected of ambition".(10) If this description as ambitious was correct, the rise of Lord James Stewart and return of Mary had provided him with opportunities for advancement. Lord James had it in mind to use Doune to promote his own cause in England, writing to secretary Cecil and "assuring him of the good towardness of all things at writing, as his 'cusingis' the bearer will declare".(11)

Doune departed on the 15th or 16th of November.(12) He travelled through Berwick and arrived in London on the 21st. From London he sent a packet of letters to Mary, including one of his own after his audience with Elizabeth on the 22nd. They were sent with M. Moret, the representative of the Duke of Savoy, who was on his way to Edinburgh. Doune's general expenses in London amounted to £3 sterling, and by 24 November he/

7. CSP, (For.), 1561-1562, 488 note 2; Knox, Works, vi. 692.

8. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1035.

9. Ibid., 1039.

10. Ibid., 1041.

11. Ibid., 1040.

12. Mary wrote commending him to Elizabeth on the 16th (Ibid., 1043), but according to Doune's journal he spent the night of the 16th at Haddington. (HMC, vi. 636.)

he was in Dover.(13) His stay in London seems to have been a success, and on 7 December Lethington wrote to Elizabeth sending Mary's thanks for the "Good visage" (?rectius usage) made to St. Colm.(14)

One of Doune's concerns in France was the matter of ecclesiastical policy and finance, a question under discussion at a convention during his absence.(15) Among those attending the convention were Menteith and Drummond.(16) The settlement reached provided for a third of the old church revenues to be given to the new church and the crown. Aside from this convention other leaders of the Reformation in Dunblane diocese made little impact on the national scene during this period. Doune experienced an important rise politically, but those most notable as members of the Congregation, Menteith and Tullibardine, did not.

In France Doune seems to have kept the English ambassador, Throckmorton, informed of French intentions in Scotland, as when he assured the ambassador that the French planned to meet all Mary's demands for artillery and ammunition. Perhaps because of this confidence, Throckmorton's assessment of Doune was higher than Randolph's. Throckmorton felt that if a formal exchange of ambassadors between France and Scotland occurred, "Lord/

13. HMC, vi. 636.

14. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1048.

15. Mary's Letter to Guise, 2, Intro. xxiii-xxiv.

16. RPC, i. 192; APS, ii. 606.

"Lord St. Colme is as likely as any other to fill that place here". The potential advantage for the English in this situation was not lost on Throckmorton, who encouraged Elizabeth to treat Doune well on his return journey, "so that he may continue the good devotion he had clearly shown towards her".(17) This confidence must have seemed well placed when Doune continued to disclose the substance of his discussions with the French at his next meeting with the ambassador.(18) Doune was back in England by 14 January, 1561/2, when Elizabeth wrote a short letter for him to deliver to Mary.(19) He departed shortly for Scotland, for it was reported that Mary "longs sore for St. Colme's return".(20)

Another concern of the journey had been a proposed interview between Mary and Elizabeth. Despite Throckmorton's recommendations Cecil had doubts about Doune, finding in him a "strangeness and nycenes" touching "thenterview". Lethington assured Cecil that Doune had had no advice from the French against the meeting, and suggested that any coolness on Doune's part was due to his "lack off through (i.e. thorough) familiarity, or wish not to be busy in things not in his charge."(21) The interview was an important part of Doune's next trip to France. In Scotland little more than a month, he returned to France/

17. CSP, (For.), 1561-1562, 570.

18. Ibid., 789 (1).

19. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1063.

20. Ibid., 1066; CSP, (For.), 1561-1562, 798, 803(1).

21. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1070.

France with Mary's uncle, the Marquis D'Elboef, who had arrived with Mary in 1561.(22) Arriving in Paris on 19 March, Doune quickly renewed his acquaintance with Throckmorton, who was convinced that Doune was striving to further the meetings of the queens. Doune, he wrote, "had done good offices in this matter since he came hither".(23) He left France again in late April; on the 24th Throckmorton wrote a letter to Elizabeth for Doune to deliver. By now, the Guises were disenchanted with Doune, perhaps because of his friendship with the English.(24) The Guises were, however, reported to be "of one mind in praising the interview" (25), and Doune's return was awaited in Scotland so that arrangements could proceed.(26) Elizabeth informed Throckmorton that Doune had been treated as the ambassador had requested, and on 30 April Doune passed through Berwick on his way to Edinburgh.(27) On 3 May his arrival in Edinburgh was expected momentarily, and Randolph was sure that nothing could "let the interview".(28) Doune informed Lethington that the latter's presence would be required in London (29), and Doune's own optimism about the interview is reflected in royal/

22. Ibid., 1073, 1074.

23. CSP, (For.), 1561-1562, 943(8), 954(3).

24. Ibid., 1043(1).

25. Papal Neg., 447.

26. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1095.

27. CSP, (For.), 1561-1562, 1061; 1562, 20.

28. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1097; CSP, (For.), 1562, 14(2).

29. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1098.

royal letters dispatched in May calling nobles and barons to meet in Edinburgh "to convey the queenis grace to England".(30) Among others of the Dunblane diocese area, such writings went to Menteith, Ruthven, Drummond, Oliphant, Tullibardine, Keir, Tulliallan, Chisholm of Cromlix and Haldane of Gleneagles. Doune corresponded with the Guises through the summer (31), but when the interview failed to materialize, this period of his diplomatic prominence came to a close.

A question of loyalties is raised by Doune's journeys to France. Mary's later messenger, the Bishop of Dunblane, was such a staunch Roman Catholic, that some suspicion might fall on Doune as an adherent to the old faith. This does not seem to have been the case. His interests were more political than religious, as shown by his optimism over the proposed meeting of the queens. Both English and French displayed a distrust of him, and his most faithful supporter was an Englishman, Throckmorton. Cecil's distrust does not seem to have had religious overtones, and the Cardinal of Lorraine said of him; "Consider what these nobles of Scotland are in the matter of religion when the queen's own agent here with me is a Calvinist, and is at no pains to conceal it."(32)

During the time of Doune's journeys abroad, the Earl of Menteith/

30. TA, xi. 169.

31. CSP, (For.), 1562, 264(14).

32. CSP, (Rome), 1558-1571, 134; Papal Neg., 87.

Menteith had had a personal concern. His son and the other Scottish hostages were still in England, and on 21 December, 1561, a letter addressed to Elizabeth requested their release. The terms for their retention were fulfilled, for a year had passed since Francis II died. The letter was signed by those immediately concerned: Chatelherault, Argyll, James Stewart, Glencairn, and Menteith.(33) Charges were due to pay for the keep of the hostages, and Randolph wrote that most of the relatives were able to pay. He did write favourably of Glencairn and Menteith, "whose neccessities I know are so great, that they cannot pay the charges of their sons if licenced to return.... These two are most to be pitied, as godly, friendly and honest above many".(34) The life of the hostages had been pleasant enough, for on 18 January, 1561/2, the alderman of Newcastle wrote to Cecil asking to be relieved of charges for the hostages, including £101 for "Mr. George Grahame, the Earl of Monteithe's son, his schoolmaster, and two servants."(35) On 2 February Elizabeth wrote to the mayor of Newcastle saying that the hostages "for matters now performed, are to be set at liberty; for which purpose she sends here with her passports".(36)

When Doune ceased to be involved in diplomatic affairs, less information is available about his activities. He was involved/

33. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1052.

34. Ibid., 1051.

35. CSP, (For.), 1561/2, 818.

36. Ibid., 860.

involved with personal affairs, for in January 1562/3 he married Argyll's sister. Randolph travelled with Mary to attend the wedding, which took place on the 11th in Castle Campbell.(37) In March 1563/4 a charter was confirmed to Doune and Margaret Campbell on lands formerly held by Doune alone, following an inspection of the rents and money due on the lands the previous April.(38) This new relationship to Argyll was to prove influential with Doune in the future. Evidence of this influence came to light quite soon. In January 1564/5 Argyll was pledged to keep his relative, James MacDonald, in "guid rewell and ordour in the cuntre" under pain of £10,000. One of Argyll's cautioners was Doune, as was Stirling of Keir.(39) In 1564 Doune and Menteith had been created deputies to Argyll, who was Justice General, for searching and apprehending the perennially troublesome clan Gregor in Menteith.(40)

The other laymen of Dunblane diocese are also seen during this time occupied with local matters. Drummond, as steward, was ordered to expell clan Gregor from Strathearn on 22 September, 1563.(41) He was also busy providing for his children and expanding his interests in Strathearn, as when on 5 December, 1563, he obtained lands in the barony of Cragy from John Ros of Cragy. This transaction may in part have been settlement/

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37. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 1157, 1163.
 38. RMS, iv. 1513; Exch. Rolls, xix. 509.
 39. RPC, i. 314-315.
 40. RBM, ii. 401.
 41. RPC, i. 248-250.

settlement of a local feud, for the charter stipulates that if Ros should molest Drummond in his possession of the lands, he would obligate himself to pay 3000 merks.(42) Drummond and Ros had had a variety of previous dealings, including some difficulty over the teinds of the parish of Strogeith. In 1558 Ros had received 500 merks from Drummond and his wife for payment as "contentit in a contract maid betuix me and thame".(43) On 6 September, 1559, Ros received 84 merks from David and Liliass "in hail and compleit payment of 5 chaldir four boll victual" of the crop of 1558 for part of the lands of the barony of Strogeith "quilk I haif in wedset of thame".(44) Two months later Drummond constituted procurators to appear at the parish kirk of Perth on 9 November to pay 900 merks for redemption of lands in Strogeith held by Ros. If payment was refused, the dean of guild was to hold the money.(45) It may have been this same wadset referred to in 1562, when in September the "laird of Cragies" gave acquittance of seven score pounds in "haile and compleit payment of the victualis of the manis of Strogeith" owed to him in rent, which wadset had been "fra me lauchfullie redemit".(46) Other grants included lands in Stirlingshire in liferent to Drummond's son John from the Earl of Montrose in 1564/

42. RMS, iv. 1524.

43. Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 11/no. 2.

44. Ibid., no. 3.

45. Ibid., no. 4.

46. Ibid., no. 1.

1564, and on the same day lands to his daughter Catherine from Murray of Tullibardine.(47) During 1564-1565 Drummond paid a total of £3800 to Alexander Gordon for various grants of lands and crops in Madderty made to himself, Lillias and their son James.(48) With the feu of Inchaffray to Drummond in 1565, his possessions in Strathearn had increased significantly since the Reformation.

Insight into religious conviction is not common during this period, but some examples of religious activity occur. At the general assembly in 1564 one of the situations with which the church dealt was "Anent the satisfieing of pur labourers of the ground against the unmerciful exaction of their teinds".(49) One of the land owners brought to task was the Earl of Menteith, who promised to do as instructed by the superintendent, "so that the poore labourers sould feile at his hands ease and support within his rowmes". Menteith was an active participant in the church he had helped to establish. Earlier in this same assembly he had personally requested a Gaelic-speaking minister for the Menteith area. Acting upon this request, the assembly appointed John Ure, minister at Leuchars, to the position.(50) Others in the diocese were actively withstanding the advance of the Reformed church./

47. RMS, v. 1672, 1673.

48. RMS, v. 174, 271, 443; Oliphants in Scotland, no. 132.

49. BUK, 49.

50. Ibid., 47; Cf. below p. 178.

church. Oliphant influence in the parishes of Dupplin and Aberdalgie was centuries old, and they used that influence to stop local Protestant worship. It was reported to the general assembly in December 1564 that the church doors in Dupplin and Aberdalgie had been "steiked", and that those responsible would "not oppin the samein to preachers that presentit themselves to have preachit the word".(51) This example is a clear case of the immediate influence of a powerful local family on the actions of the parishioners. No reader at Dupplin has been identified, for this early period, and the preacher referred to may have been the Inchaffray canon Dene William Melrose, who was probably an infrequent visitor.(52) Lord Oliphant, who was the patron of Dupplin, and his son Laurence probably exercised their influence through the conservative parson sir John Ker. When the Reformed church gained a firmer position in relation to vacant benefices after 1567, the effective control of the parsonage passed from the hands of the Oliphants. On 22 April, 1569, Dene William Melrose, exhorter at Findogask, was admitted to the parsonage of Dupplin on the decease of sir John Ker. Laurence fourth Lord Oliphant had "nowthir presentit or nominat any qualifiet persoun thairto be the space of sex monethis eftir the deceis of the said umquhile schir Johnne".(53)

The/

51. Ibid., 53.

52. Melrose's career is traced in appendix II.

53. RSS, vi. 582.

The right of presentation was therefore forfeited, for Oliphant was apparently unwilling to present a Protestant to the benefice.

Before the middle of the decade two of the early active Protestant reformers of the diocese were dead. William Murray of Tullibardine died on 30 January, 1562/3. His attachment to Lennox and the English had given him an early and extensive exposure to Protestantism. Whatever the extent of his commitment in those early years, in the revolution of 1559-1560 he had played a principal part. In the "Chronicle of Fortingall" his death is noted thus: "Orate pro anima eius quia nobilissimus", and his commitment to the new faith is signified with the words, "obiit in lege Lutereana".(54) John Earl of Menteith had been committed to the Reformation throughout the struggle, and had participated actively in the new church. Randolph, who had always spoken kindly of him, noted his death as a loss for the Reformers, saying, "he is much lamented for one of the most zealous Protestants in the country".(55)

Early in 1565 Lennox's son, Lord Darnley, arrived in Scotland. Shortly after his arrival, Bothwell returned. James Stewart (now the Earl of Moray) recognized in Bothwell an enemy and feared the loss of his influence with Mary should she marry Darnley. Relations between Mary and Moray became strained, and he left the council. One of his final actions before/

54. Chronicle of Fortingall, Black Book of Taymouth, 131.

55. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 153; cf. Cunningham Graham Muniments, no. 516.

before leaving Edinburgh was to attend a day of law set for Bothwell on 2 May, appearing "with his freinds in great number".(56) Bothwell did not appear for fear of the armed host accompanying Moray, which included "Argyll, Glencairn, and Crawford, with great numbers, and many Lords and Barons".(57) One of the barons who may have attended with Moray was Tulliallan, for he had received a letter of 12 April from Moray, asking for the attendance of his "speciale friends". Tulliallan, the letter said, was "in the number quhairof we rekyn you with the foirmost", for the matter concerned Moray's "wele and honor".(58) Many of those who attended with Moray met in the afternoon to "consult for the maintaining of Religion". Articles were devised and later expanded by the general assembly in June, which demanded that all mass, even the queen's, be suppressed. The matter eventuated in the "Chaseabout Raid". Tulliallan may have accompanied Moray to the day of law in May, but at the raid in August he seems to have sided with Mary. He and many others, including Keir and Drummond, were called to help suppress Moray's rebellion.(59) That he did not support Moray in the raid is indicated by the fact that his goods were not escheated by the crown, and he received no remission for the raid. In later years his support was to be clearly for Mary. Others from the diocese also supported/

56. Knox, History, 139-144.

57. Ibid., 144.

58. Cardross Writs, no. 829.

59. TA, xi. 395 et seq.

supported Mary. Drummond participated actively and was assigned to serve in the rear guard of her forces along with Ruthven, when they marched against the rebels in October.(60) Other men were encouraged to loyalty by promotions; for example, Lord Erskine received the title Earl of Mar in June 1565. Similarly, on 15 May, after his creation as Earl of Ross, Darnley knighted several lairds, among them Stirling of Keir, Stewart of Doune and William Murray of Tullibardine.(61) Murray was the son and successor of the previous laird discussed. Religious principle seems to have played little part in this abortive revolution, and the support Mary received from these men of Dunblane diocese indicates that her general backing was bipartisan in nature. The Master of Oliphant was called to attend the queen in August, while his father had been called to attend parliament. When the council met on 1 August to deal with Moray, many "extraordinary" councillors were present, including the Master of Oliphant.(62) Thus the great bulk of Dunblane men supported Mary. The former Earl of Menteith's son was not infeft until 1571, and he was under sixteen years old at the time of the raid.(63) As a result of his allegiance to Moray, Wishart of Pittarro lost the office of comptroller, and in his place was appointed Tullibardine/

60. RPC, i. 379.

61. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 181.

62. RPC, i. 347.

63. RBM, i. 325.

Tullibardine, who was serving by August.(64) Although his brother-in-law, Argyll, had followed Moray, Doune remained loyal and beside being knighted was granted lands in Menteith and Stirling.(65)

Mary received overwhelming support to suppress the "Chaseabout Raid", but political conditions afterward were unsettled. When foreign advisors gained influence, a reaction followed, and David Riccio was slain on 9 March, 1565/6. Some of those Dunblane men who had sided with Mary in the summer, changed sides during late winter, for one of the persons "delaitit of the slaughter of David Riccio" was Stewart of Doune. Others were Ruthven, Murray of Tibbermore and Murray of Balvaird.(66) Perhaps following Doune's lead was Stirling of Keir, who received a remission in December 1566 for having held the queen prisoner in Holyrood and for his part in the murder.(67) Also included in the remission were William Stewart, the son of Andrew Stewart of Fossoway and Forester of Carden, a close friend of Stirling of Keir. Doune may have been persuaded that the murder would further the cause of Argyll and Moray, and he seems never to have regained his early prominence under Mary. He was ordered to "render and deliver" castle Doune within twenty-four hours to James Chisholm/

64. CSP, (For.), 1564-1565, 1417(5); TB, Intro., xxvi-xxvii.

65. RSS, v. 2075; RMS, iv. 1622; Exch. Rolls, xix. 526.

66. RPC, i. 436-437.

67. RSS, v. 3149.

Chisholm of Cromlix and to appear before the council within six days of 8 April, 1566.(68) However, he received a remission on 5 June.(69) Despite Ruthven's prominence in the Riccio murder, Drummond seems to have played no part. In April he was ordered to see that timber was delivered from Strathearn to be at the queen's disposal for repairing strongholds. Drummond seems to have been actively cooperating with Mary at this time, advising her comptroller of artillery on the gathering and transport of the timber.(70)

The death of Darnley in February 1566/7 dominated the period. None of the central laymen of Dunblane diocese seems to have been involved in the various plots surrounding the death. Indications of the unsettled condition of the country are reflected in a commission of justiciary granted to Drummond on 2 January, 1566/7, ordering him to deal with a host of civic problems within Strathearn and Balquhiddar.(71) Mary had made a large gift of money and victual to the Reformed church in December 1566, and when the general assembly met that month, Keir, Alexander Gordon, and Forester of Carden were commissioned to go to Stirling with John Spottiswoode, superintendent of Lothian, to "seek and extract of the said assignation from the Comptroller and Clerk of Register"/

68. TA, xi. 481-482, 497.

69. RSS, v. 2883.

70. RPC, i. 446; Oliphants in Scotland, no. 135.

71. Exch. Rolls, xix. 567.

Register" and report to the session of Edinburgh.(72) It may have been because of Mary's attempt to gain widespread support that on 9 April Doune was remitted the profits of several lands in Menteith in "recompensation" for his service on Mary's behalf in France and for the repair of Doune castle, as well as having the thirds of Inchcolm remitted for past years and "sicklyke of all yeiris and termes to cum during oure will".(73) On 10 April Drummond received a gift of a portion of Darnley's former possessions, consisting of the ward and relief of lands in Stirlingshire.(74) Another person to benefit from Mary's attempts for support was Oliphant. Laurence third Lord Oliphant had died on 29 March, 1566, and his son, already in his late thirties, was granted his father's lands and possessions by a retour of 2 May, 1566.(75) On 25 February, 1566/7, Laurence fourth Lord Oliphant was granted by royal letter the right to fish with cruves in the river Earn. The letter made mention that the Oliphants had enjoyed this right "mony yeris begane.....albeit laitlie sum novatioun and impediement hes bene maid to thair said cousing thairintill contrar hir majesteis mynd and expectatioun".(76) This was indeed the case, for on 12 July, 1566, the sheriff of Perth had passed to/

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72. BUK, 83.
 73. RBM, ii. 403-404.
 74. RSS, vi. 3410.
 75. HMC, v. 622.
 76. RSS, v. 3295.

to the said cruves, ordering Oliphant to cast them down. On 26 July a servant of Tullibardine's testified that Oliphant had come to the cruves with lieges "bodin in feir of weir" for "resisting of the said sheriff depute in execution of his office in doun casting of the saidis cruvis". Oliphant protested that he came only with six men to carry out the order himself; the lieges were only for defence of his heretage.(77) This was the "novatioun" referred to, and Oliphant seems to have regained his fishing rights with this grant.

Mary was seized by Bothwell and taken to Dunbar on 24 April. A group of lords joined together in pledging to set her at liberty; among them Drummond and Tullibardine.(78) During the period of Bothwell's ascendancy, Oliphant was in Mary's favour. He sat on the assize for Bothwell's trial which pronounced him innocent of Darnley's murder.(79) For a short time he was closely involved in government, and was one of the small group of nobles attending the wedding on 15 May.(80) On 17 May he was chosen to sit on the council.(81) In June an English agent reported that the only nobility in court were Chatelherault, Huntly, Oliphant and the Archbishop of St. Andrews.(82) Oliphant's prominence was shortlived, for Mary was forced to meet and surrender to the confederate lords/

77. P.B. James Drummond, fos. 69-70.

78. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 502; HMC, 60 supplement, 27, 28.

79. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 488; Knox, History, ii. 204; Diurnal, 108.

80. Diurnal, 111.

81. RPC, i. 509; Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 509.

82. CSP, (For.), 1566-1568, 1279.

lords at Carberry on 15 June. Murray of Tullibardine was one of the leaders of the confederates seeking Bothwell's downfall (83), and he took up the challenge his brother had made to the Earl to do personal combat.(84) This brother, James Murray of Pardewis, was a former servant of Bothwell, said to have broken with the Earl after Darnley's murder.(85) He had arrived from France in 1564/5, seeking "to purchase some favour" with Mary for Bothwell. However, within a few days of his coming, he is reported to have charged Bothwell with speaking dishonorable words against Mary and threatening Moray and Lethington.(86) After Darnley's murder Murray was accused of putting up placards in Edinburgh accusing Bothwell, and on 14 March, 1566/7, the council called for his apprehension, claiming he had "devysit, inventit, and causit to be set up certane payntit paperis upon the Tolbuith dure of Edinburgh tending to her majesties sclander and defamatioun".(87) One of the many difficulties Lennox had faced in attempting to establish the murderer of his son was that Mary would not permit James Murray and others to compear at the trial.(88) Murray continued to oppose Bothwell through May, accusing him of/

83. Diurnal, 112.

84. Calderwood, History, ii. 363.

85. Peerage, i. 463.

86. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 153, 157.

87. RPC, i. 500; Keith, History, ii. 533.

88. CSP, (For.), 1566-1568, 1060.

of kidnapping the queen and killing Darnley.(89) Bothwell escaped from the battle at Carberry and proceeded north. Pursuit was given by sea, led by Kirkcaldy of Grange and Tullibardine with some 400 soldiers.(90) The pursuers returned from the chase in September, having failed to capture Bothwell.(91)

Moray's early regency was not easy, for there was a sizeable faction of Marians and neutrals led by the Hamiltons, Argyll and Huntly.(92) This opposition probably included Drummond, Oliphant and Menteith, for when they were sent letters by the general assembly of July 1567, bidding them come to Edinburgh "for the settling of God's true worship in the church", they refused to come for fear of the armed men garrisoned in the city.(93) On the other hand, Doune and Tullibardine supported Moray. Both of them attended the coronation of James on 29 July. (94) Menteith apparently came over to Moray as well, for he too attended. During the year of Mary's captivity at Lochleven, several supporters of Mary and Bothwell were warded with Doune. One such was Willian Newtoun, who held Dunbar castle for Bothwell into the autumn, and who continued as an active supporter of the queen.(95) Tullibardine/

89. Ibid., 1181(6).

90. OSP, (For.), 1566-1568, 1570(4), 1592; RPC, i. 544-546; Diurnal, 119.

91. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 620, 621.

92. Ibid., 588.

93. Knox, History, ii. 213-214; BUK, 94-95.

94. RPC, i. 538.

95. RPC, i. 557, 576; RSS, vi. 317.

Tullibardine seems to have exercised some power in the new regime and was said to have much influence with his brother-in-law, Mar. He had also been present at the opening of the casket letters.(96) His brother James was made customar of Edinburgh in 1567.(97)

Unification under Moray came to an abrupt halt when Mary escap_ed from Lochleven in May 1568. Calderwood reports that Murray of Tullibardine was with George Douglas when the escape was accomplished. "The cheefe plotters and divisers of her libertie were secretar Matlande and Sir James Balfour. Tullibardine, for his difference in religioun, and other privit queroll, estranged from the governour, joyned himself to the queen's factioun".(98) It is true enough that Tullibardine had fared well under Mary; he had become comptroller as a result of Moray's fall. His real estrangement was with Bothwell, whom both he and his brother had opposed. Sir James Melville said that "na man was sa frak" to go with Grange in pursuit of Bothwell as was Tullibardine.(99) On 8 May a large group of nobles and barons signed the "Hamilton Bond", declaring allegiance to the queen. The list, headed by Argyll and Huntly, included Lord Drummond and his son James (Now commendator of Inchaffray), Lord Oliphant, Stewart of Doune, Stirling/

96. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 588, appendix 2, no. 6.

97. RPC, i. 547.

98. Calderwood, History, ii. 404.

99. Memoirs of Sir James Melville, 185.

Stirling of Keir, Blackadder of Tulliallan, Alexander Gordon, and several others from around Dunblane diocese; Shaw of Sauchie, Bruce of Clackmannan, and Forester of Carden. Significantly absent from the signatories was Tullibardine.(100) Calderwood's account of Murray as one of those principally involved in Mary's escape may be incorrect, for both Menteith and Tullibardine are reported to have fought with Moray at Langside. Both sat on the regent's council on 16 May, 1568, a council which issued a call to convene the lieges in June against the rebels.(101) There may have been a certain equivocation on Tullibardine's part, for in July 1568 an English agent reported that the laird had conspired with the Hamiltons to bring about Moray's death, utilizing among others his brother James.(102)

Five of the seven Dunblane laymen discussed sided with Mary, and this group was a religious mixture. Only Oliphant can be considered a staunch Catholic (103), and even his support was more likely for political than religious reasons. Although the battle to re-establish Mary as the head of government was lost at Langside, a queen's party continued to function and applied to Elizabeth for assistance, as well as to Spain. Letters seeking support were addressed to Elizabeth/

100. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 650; Keith, History, ii. 809.

101. Calderwood, History, ii. 404; Keith History, ii. 816, 818 note; RPC, i. 623-624.

102. CSP, (For.), 1566-1568, 2387.

103. The religious perspectives of these seven laymen will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

Elizabeth and the Duke of Alva in July; among those signing them were Drummond and Oliphant.(104) The support this party continued to give the queen should not be considered a Roman Catholic sponsored endeavour, for the motives among the men from Dunblane diocese appear mixed between personal and political.(105) As far as Doune was concerned, he had made no significant political or financial gain under the regency of Moray, and his past sympathies had generally been with Mary. Also, his brother-in-law, Argyll, was a leader of the Marian party.(106) Stirling of Keir had as well reaped benefits under Mary's rule, and Tulliallan seems to have been loyal to her in the 1565 rebellion. Drummond, despite Ruthven's part in the Riccio murder, had always remained loyal to Mary, and this commitment to the Marians in 1568 seems to be a continuation of his personal loyalty. Noted on a list of Scottish nobles as an heretical lord, he was said to be one of those who had allowed himself to become seduced against the queen, but who might support her if she were freed, and that had proved to be the case.(107) Oliphant, who fits neatly into the Catholic-Marian stereotype, is the exception among these men.

Although it was Oliphant and Drummond who were the more significant/

104. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 744, 747.

105. The conclusions noted here about the men of the queen's party from Dunblane diocese are consistent with those Professor Donaldson suggests on a wider national basis in his forthcoming book on Mary Queen of Scots. (Gordon Donaldson, "The Queen's Party, 1568-1573") In the press.

106. Ibid., 653, 655. (Cal. Scot. Papers, ii.)

107. Papal Neg., 256.

significant figures in the queen's party, it was the other Marians from Dunblane diocese against whom the government moved most actively. The laird of Tulliallan was put to the horn on 17 June, 1568, and his goods were escheated and granted in August to Mathew Colville, brother of Robert Colville of Cleish.(108) He was ordered to surrender his house of Tulliallan, for he not only "came to the feildis with oppin and displayit baneris aganis our said soverane lord, yit continewand in obstinate rebellioun". Accused and forfeited in like manner were Doune and Keir.(109) Action was taken against Oliphant in August when he failed to appear before the council; the basis of this move would seem to have involved both political rebellion and an unpaid debt.(110) In January 1568/9 Mary appointed Chatelherault her lieutenant in Scotland, and Oliphant was to be one of his advisers (111), but just over a month later Oliphant and several other Marians appeared before the council and "exponit and declarit how thai had continuit faythfull and obedient subjects to our soverane Lord and his authority".(112) Having espoused this new loyalty, the group was granted power to gather together to "resist, defend, and ganestane" any possible violence they might meet from the still rebellious Huntly. After Oliphant/

108. RSS, vi. 446.

109. RPC, i. 625-626.

110. Ibid., 633; RSS, vi. 420.

111. Labanoff, Letters, ii. 271.

112. RPC, i. 645-646.

Oliphant pledged his new loyalty, the escheat of his goods was granted to his son and heir, for the lord was now recognized as having come over to the regent's side.(113)

In April 1569 a large group of persons, including Oliphant and Huntly, signed a bond recognizing James as king and Moray as regent, and in June Oliphant sat on a privy council meeting in Inverness.(114) During this period of truce a convention met at Perth in July, and a proposal that Mary should be divorced as a prerequisite to her return was discussed but heavily defeated. The minority voting for the divorce included such Marians as Huntly, Argyll, and Alexander Gordon, as well as Murray of Tullibardine and Lethington. Oliphant seems to have taken his new loyalty seriously, for he voted against the divorce.(115) Drummond did not attend, but his son and heir, Patrick did. Also attending was Menteith, but the votes of these last two are not recorded.(116) Another Dunblane diocese layman involved in this convention was Stirling of Keir. He was one of several commissioners, including Knox and four superintendents, sent by the general assembly to present a list of articles to the convention touching on the finances and jurisdiction of the church.(117) Keir, who had actively supported the queen's party before and who would support it again/

113. RSS, vi. 525 and note.

114. RPC, i. 654-655, 670.

115. RPC, ii. 8-9.

116. RPC, ii. 2; Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 1110.

117. RPC, ii. 6 et seq.; BUK, 145 et seq.

again, was none the less a strong Reformed churchman for that, and in the midst of strong political divisions he was participating in the church at the highest levels. In September 1569 Keir was surety for Sir James Balfour, who was suspected of having dealings with Mary.(118)

During the second half of 1569 the potential for rebellion was always present, and it may have been part of an attempt by Moray to gain loyalty when he remitted £376/2/8 owing on lands in Strathearn to Lord Drummond.(119) With the assassination of Moray in January 1569/70, the two parties re-emerged, and in March the queen's party wrote to Elizabeth as the one who "has the best means....to quench this heat". They pleaded that she should not intervene on behalf of the king's party.(120) The letter had many signatories, including Chatelherault, Oliphant, Lethington, Murray of Tullibardine, and curiously, Menteith. Tullibardine's close association with Lethington may have contributed to his equivocation during the civil war.

In April 1570 the queen's party held a convention at Linlithgow, which Oliphant attended.(121) In May the king's party denounced the opposition, and their polemic was obviously designed to foster the belief that the queen's party was Catholic in its nature and aims. Such phrases as, "known persecution/

118. RPC, ii. 27.

119. Exch. Rolls, xx. 52.

120. Cal. Scot. Papers, iii. 178.

121. Ibid., 162; Diurnal, 168.

persecution of God's truth" and "shall not the soldiers be papist in religion?" used about the queen's party were attempts to gain English support and possibly to rekindle the spirit of Reformation.(122) In June Lennox led an abortive siege of Doune castle, as Huntly, Argyll, Atholl and "all the queen's favourers were in readiness cummand to the relief thereof".(123) Ruthven and Menteith entered the castle "in Sanct Colmes favoris" and a compromise was reached. Lord Livingston arrived at Doune from England in July and there met Argyll with instructions from Mary. A letter from Mary to Doune bade him to do as Huntly and Argyll should advise.(124) In this same month the council took action against Chatelherault, Doune, and other Marians, declaring that they had become "plaine enymeis and rebellis at Linlythgow in the moneth of Maii", for holding to "ane uther auctoritie nor oor soverane Lordis", and for marching with the English.(125)

In August the old struggle over the stewartry of Menteith arose, when the laird of Duntreath shot at the Master of Ochiltree, Doune's cousin, in Stirling. As a result, Edmonstone and his son were imprisoned.(126) During that month Lennox again laid siege to Doune castle and it was "randerit to him upoun appaintment upoun the 25 day of the said month".(127) During/

122. Ibid., 221.

123. Ibid., 302.

124. Ibid., 335; HMC, vi. 638.

125. RPC, xiv. 64-65.

126. Cal. Scot. Papers, iii. 406.

127. Diurnal, 184-185.

During this time of siege Stewart of Doune fled to Edinburgh castle (128), and in September he was declared a rebel and put to the horn.(129) Keir and Tulliallan were called to compear before the council at this same time concerning their "debtfull obedience" to James. Of the three, only Keir compeared, perhaps because Lennox was now regent, and Keir formerly had been on good terms with him. Tulliallan, like Doune was declared a rebel.(130) Doune was still in Edinburgh castle in December, when he and Lethington were summoned to the tolbooth to "heir thame foirfaltit for certane crymes of tressone".(131) In September, when action was being taken against these three men, Oliphant and Drummond were reported to be "obedient to the Kingis Majestie".(132) Despite their apparent change in loyalties, the queen's party must have felt that they were still favourers of Mary, for in November and March both Oliphant and Drummond, with several other Marians, were suggested as hostages for Mary's return.(133)

During 1571 the queen's party was breaking up. Keir had already been reconciled the previous September. His continued favour with the regent is illustrated by a ratification of an earlier grant of the lands of Inverallan to Keir in February 1570/1.(134) Lord Hume, who was to have infeft Keir in the lands/

128. Calderwood, History, iii. 10.

129. RPC, xiv. 74-75.

130. RPC, xiv. 32 et seq., 74-75.

131. Diurnal, 196.

132. Cal. Scot. Papers, iii. 471.

133. Ibid., 557, 653.

134. Fraser, Stirlings of Keir, no. 193.

lands, was in Edinburgh castle and "wald nocht obey the presentation", and Keir was unable to gain access to the castle.(135) Keir was utilised to keep watch on political prisoners; in January 1571/2 he was surety that Mr. George Crichton in Dunfermline not communicate with the King's traitors, and in February surety that Lord Elphinston and his son not give sanctuary to traitors.(136) In 1572/3 Keir obliged himself to enter Mr. Stephen Wilson, vicar of Kirkcaldy and parson of Glendevon, before the council, and to see that he received no intelligence from the castle.(137) Oliphant, who may well have remained sympathetic toward Mary, was not powerful enough to resist the regent on his own (138), and gradually aligned with the king's party. By the summer of 1571 Argyll was on the king's side and Doune also had drifted over. In August a list indicating the loyalties of various Scottish nobles stated that Argyll had newly come over to the king, while Oliphant, Patrick Drummond, and Menteith were alike listed as belonging to that faction.(139) In September Doune and Argyll were both appointed commissioners to treat with the English on matters affecting the border and the "maintenance of the trew religioun publictlie professit be the inhabitantis of/

135. Ibid., 194.

136. RPC, ii. 109, 123.

137. Ibid., 206.

138. Papers Illustrating the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI, 63.

139. Cal. Scot. Papers, iii. 895.

of baith the realmes".(140) Doune also signed a letter at that time, admonishing the inhabitants of Edinburgh castle to align with the king.(141) Blackadder returned to the king's party as well, but just when is unknown. After the close of the civil war, Huntly was warded in Galloway because of suspicion of the activities of Gordon of Auchindon in France. Huntly petitioned for his release and offered as surety for his reentry Lord Elphinston, Gordon of Lochinvar, Blackadder of Tulliallan and Stirling of Keir.(142)

During the important and eventful years from Mary's return to Scotland until the end of the civil war in 1573, certain factors which emerged in Scottish political and religious life can be observed in the actions of these laymen of Dunblane diocese. Political questions of loyalty began to replace questions of religious allegiance, much to the distress of Knox and other clerics. Stewart of Doune rose dramatically in national importance and for two years was significantly involved in international diplomacy; his religious affiliations seem to have had little bearing on the work he performed. Mary placed an open confidence in this Protestant envoy sent to her Catholic relatives in France. By the middle of the decade two of the more dedicated Protestant leaders of the diocese were dead/

140. APS, iii. 64; Cal. Scot. Papers, iv. appendix, no. 1.

141. APS, iii. 69-70.

142. RPC, ii. 423.

dead; Tullibardine and Menteith. Because of the shift in questions of loyalty, by the time of the "Chaseabout Raid" the old Reformation spirit did not re-emerge among the men from Dunblane diocese, and they gave their loyalty to the queen. Moray's revolt seems to have been interpreted by these men in political and not religious terms.

By the time of the civil war, two factions or parties had emerged, each supported by notable Protestants. The majority of Dunblane laymen discussed favoured Mary, but only Oliphant also favoured the Catholic church. Tulliallan, Doune, Drummond and Keir all had significant Protestant leanings, and some were deeply committed to the new church's ecclesiastical institutions. For these men of Dunblane diocese, the queen's party had one goal: to restore Mary to the throne of Scotland. For many years after the civil war Doune was to be committed to Mary and conservative politics in general, but he never espoused the old faith. These years of struggle demonstrate that the dividing line in society had shifted from the question of foreign domination by the French and matters of religious reform to ones of the rightful sovereignty of Mary and the regency of her son.

THE DUNBLANE CLERGY AT THE REFORMATION

Perthshire, in which the majority of Dunblane's thirty-eight parishes lay, was one of the more conservative areas of Scotland at the Reformation, when judged by the criterion of beneficed clergy who conformed to serve in the reformed church.(1) A variety of reasons can be asserted for this apparent lack of enthusiasm. To begin with, many benefice holders were not performing pastoral duties before 1560, and those not serving may have wished to remain free of such responsibility. The old church was not disestablished, and the retention of their benefice revenues seemed assured. Dunblane was an essentially rural diocese with no large burghs to act as focal points for reforming opinion. Perhaps most important, the bishop of Dunblane and his nephew successor were strong conservatives. These, and other factors to be discussed, played a part in the lack of enthusiasm of beneficed men for the newly established faith.

What is under consideration here is the structure of the old church parishes, their personnel, and the service of the cure of souls. An examination of what type of old church clergy did conform to serve in the new church is concomitant with this study.

The/

1. Gordon Donaldson, "The Parish Clergy at the Reformation", Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625, 136.

The most outstanding, and in some ways the most harmful, feature of the pre-Reformation church was that of the appropriation of the parishes to various religious institutions; funds initially intended to support pastoral care within a parish were diverted to the institution which gained control of the parish. While the major portion of these parish revenues, the parsonage, was thus diverted, a vicarage of some sort was generally arranged for the cure of souls.(2) The vicarage, a benefice in its own right, also became a target for appropriation, and the cure plunged to a lower depth, certainly in financial terms, and probably in the calibre of priest serving. In many parishes both parsonage and vicarage appertained to religious institutions. In Dunblane diocese the office of parson in the majority of parishes had disappeared. For example, the parsonage of Auchterarder was appropriated to Inchaffray abbey, and the revenues of that parsonage went to the abbey itself.(3) Thus no parson as such can be identified. In some parishes the individual parson may be ascertained. For example, the parson of Aberfoyle was Mr. James Kennedy, a man who was primarily the chancellor of Dunblane cathedral. He held various other ecclesiastical positions, such as the vicarage of Kilmadock and parsonage of/

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2. Ian B. Cowan, The Appropriation of Parish Churches in Medieval Scotland, Edinburgh Thesis, vol. i., passim.
 3. Dunblane parishes and clergy which are not annotated in individual footnotes may be compared in appendices I and II where documentation is supplied.

of Carstairs. Mr. James Kennedy, even though identifiable as the parson of Aberfoyle, was not going to serve the cure in that parish.

There were thirty-eight parishes in Dunblane diocese and therefore theoretically a corresponding number of parsonages. It has been demonstrated that only three of these parishes, that is the parsonage revenues, were not appropriated but retained a type of independence.(4) In other words, only 7.8% of the parishes of this diocese were not controlled by some ecclesiastical institution.(5) Eleven of the parsonages were held by the bishop of Dunblane or by some official of the diocese or cathedral. Aberfoyle was a prebend of the cathedral, as were the parsonages of Balquhiddar, Comrie, and the parsonage and vicarage of Glendevon. Seven parishes pertained to the mensa of the bishop: Callander, Dunblane, Findogask, Kilmahog, Monzie, Muthill and Stodgeith. The bishop as well held one fourth of the parsonage revenues of Tulliallan, Fossoway, Glendevon and Balquhiddar. No less than twenty-four of the parishes of the diocese, 63% of the total, were appropriated to religious houses. Exmagirdle pertained to Lindores, Logie to North Berwick, Fossoway to Coupar Angus. Arbroath controlled two parishes; Abernethy and Dron, the latter/

4. Ian B. Cowan, The Medieval Parishes of Scotland, SRS, passim.

5. References to the appropriation of parsonages and vicarages are taken from I.B. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, SRS, and are therefore not individually annotated.

latter originally a chapel of the former. Cambuskenneth possessed four parishes: Kincardine, Kippen minus £20 to the bishop of Dunblane, Tillicoultry, and Tullibody. Thus nine of the parishes of the diocese were appropriated to religious houses outwith the diocese. The remaining fifteen parishes pertained to religious houses within the diocese: two to Culross, three to Inchmahome, and ten to Inchaffray. These parishes are mentioned below and discussed at some length in chapter VII. The three parishes which were not controlled by ecclesiastical institutions were in each case subject to the patronage of an individual family. The parish of St. Madoes was in the patronage of the earls of Rothes, a family otherwise more or less outside the diocese and associated with Fife rather than Perthshire. Dupplin was subject to the patronage of Laurence, Lord Oliphant, a man who was much involved in Dunblane diocese and a man of strong religious convictions. Finally, Tulliallan parish was the province of Blackadder of Tulliallan, a local laird within the diocese.

The basic simplicity of the parish structure within the diocese was destroyed by this division of revenues among several persons and institutions. In general within this diocese the parsons were absentee pastors, even when they can be named as specific individuals. It is possible that in two of the independent parishes the cure was served at least in part by the parson. At St. Madoes, Mr. David Balvaird was parson during/

during the 1550s. He later conformed to become reader and then minister of the parish. If his interest in taking up his new duties indicated a concern for the cure of souls, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he may have shown such a concern before 1560. It might be noted that there was probably an unbeneficed curate assisting the parson at this parish. The only other apparent serving parson was sir John Ker, parson of Dupplin. He had been parson since at least 1543 and continued in office until well after 1560. He almost certainly made no concession to the new faith.(6) The extent of his involvement in parish life is uncertain. He was left 10s. 2d. from a pasch fine in a testament of 2 December, 1543.(7) Although this may have been his due as parson it is worth noting that no mention is made of a curate at this parish. Sir John Ker, therefore, appears to have played an active part in the parish life of Dupplin. The vigour with which the patron of that parish defended the old faith indicates that the cure of souls was probably served with some intensity. In the other independent parish the parson up to the eve of the Reformation was Mr. David Paniter, bishop of Ross, secretary to Governor Arran, and erstwhile hope of the Scottish Reformers.(8) Whatever pastoral care was given within this parish would not be the province/

6. RSS, vi. 582.

7. Dunb. Test., i. fo. 40.

8. Knox, History, i. 48; Dowden, Bishops, 226-228.

province of the bishop of Ross. Quite likely then there was a curate to perform the necessary duties. This situation probably continued after the decease of Paniter in 1558, for it appears that at this point John Blackadder's second son Patrick received the revenues of the parsonage but did not serve the cure.(9)

At or near 1560 there can be located some ten individual parsons, including those at the three unappropriated parishes discussed above. One of the ten would be bishop Chisholm, who held seven of the parishes as mensal churches. In the case of the mensal churches the title parson can be only a nominal designation. The case of the parsonage of Monzie is somewhat unclear. While it certainly was a mensal church and remained so after the Reformation until apparently 1591 (10), Sir George Wawane, the archdeacon of Dunblane, was referred to as parson of Monzie on 15 August, 1532. This reference, however, may simply be a scribal error, for it is evident later that for a time Wawane held the prebend, that is the vicarage, of Monzie.(11) Thus without the bishop's mensal churches there were nine identifiable parsons in the diocese, Aberfoyle, Balquhiddar, Comrie, Glendevon, and Kincardine were prebends of Dunblane cathedral. The first was held by Mr. James Kennedy, chancellor of Dunblane and an apparent absentee. The parson of Balquhiddar was/

9. Cf. above, p. 74.

10. RSS, 63, fo. 84v.

11. Cal. Charters, 1105 (10 Feb., 1534/5); cf. below, p. 269.

was Mr. James Rolland, a pluralist of the first rank, holding as well the vicarage of Glamis and prebends of Rungelle and Dury in St. Andrews, as well as being employed as a lawyer. He could not be expected to serve the cure at Balquhiddar. Mr. Alexander Chisholm presumably a relative of the bishop, was parson of Comrie. Although he appears to have been from the Comrie area and was not such a notable pluralist, if he engaged in parochial work, it was to a very limited extent, for the basic pastoral duties were fulfilled by other clerics. Glendevon, where both parsonage and vicarage formed one prebend of Dunblane cathedral, was held from at least 1543/4 until 1566 by the second bishop William Chisholm. On his demission of that benefice in 1566, it passed to Mr. Stephen Wilson, a servant of the crown and titular ecclesiastic. This benefice was a source of revenue rather than a pastoral position. Kincardine was a prebend of the cathedral held by the abbot of Cambuskenneth. Here again there was clearly no service of the cure given by the parson. Finally, Abernethy is a curious case. The parsonage here was appropriated to Arbroath and apparently held by the abbot.⁽¹²⁾ However, the revenues of this benefice in 1561 pertained to Mr. Alexander Beaton, the archdeacon of Lothian, as the result of an earlier arrangement made by one of the former abbots, Cardinal David Beaton. Mr. Alexander Beaton was the illegitimate son of the cardinal by Marion/

12. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 216.

Marion Ogilvy, and this child was thus provided for.(13) The parsonage was a very lucrative benefice, yeilding £266/13/4. Mr. Alexander Beaton, a man with a considerable income and divergent interests, would not serve the cure. Although a great many of the parsonages of the diocese cannot be valued, Abernethy is clearly exceptionally high. Some examples of other parsonage revenues will serve to illustrate. Glendevon: £26/13/4; Aberfoyle: £60; Comrie: £26/13/4; Balquhidder: £16; St. Madoes: 88 merks; Tulliallan: £30.

The vicarage system not only allowed men to hold benefices pluralistically, but freed them for hierarchical positions within the church^{as} well as the government.(14) It is worth noting that of the ten parsons mentioned, six had a master's degree. Mr. James Kennedy at Aberfoyle, Mr. Alexander Beaton at Abernethy, Mr. James Rolland at Balquhidder, Mr. Alexander Chisholm at Comrie, Mr. David Balvaird at St. Madoes, Mr. David Paniter at Tulliallan. It is true that pastoral duties do not of necessity require a high degree of scholarship (15), but with so many beneficed but absentee men holding degrees, many of the accusations regarding the lack of education of the parish clergy would seem to be sustained. Perhaps the great mistake of the hierarchy of the old kirk was not only that/

13. This situation is discussed further below, p. 266.

14. Gordon Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, 13-14.

15. Ibid., 15.

that it was top-heavy, but that it drew the best of its lower ranks away from the immediate business of the church, allowing the cure of souls to pass farther down the line to men less able and less well trained.

Where the parsonage revenues had been drawn off to sustain men and institutions outwith the local parish, a vicar of one sort or another was theoretically supplied to deal with the pastoral functions of the parish. However, the revenues of many vicarages became stipends to men who were as remote from the source of this income as were most of the parsons. Because of the often complicated financial arrangements surrounding the vicarage, it is not always easy to ascertain who was the vicar of a particular parish, or whether he served the cure. Whoever was performing pastoral duties within a parish could be styled curate. The loose employment of the titles vicar, vicar pensioner, and curate is one of the persistent problems in the study of records of this period.(16)

Leaving aside the vicars pensioner, who will be discussed below, there were twenty-one parishes in the diocese where a distinguishable vicarage existed. At eleven of these parishes the vicarage was not prebendal, but was identifiable, usually as a vicarage perpetual or portionary. One of the important questions/

16. The duties and status of unbeneficed curates are discussed below and in the following chapter.

questions to ask is whether these vicars were serving the cure, or were pluralists and tacksmen who might be expected to draw their revenues but not participate in the work of the parish, save possibly by providing funds for the cure. As with the parsons, some of the vicars were notable pluralists. In 1557/8 Mr. Robert Herbertson held the vicarage of Abruthven, valued at £40. He was also parson of Ayr, vicar of Rutherglen, and held a chaplainry. Furthermore, most of his time, from the evidence of the location where he witnessed various charters, appears to have been spent in and around Glasgow.(17) He does not appear to have served as a reformed clergyman and with his varied income, would have had little financial motivation for doing so. Other vicarages of the diocese were not unlike Abruthven. At Aberfoyle the vicar at the Reformation was Sir Stephen Sinclair, who had held that benefice since at least 1543. He too was a vicar perpetual, but does not rank as a pluralist with many of his fellows. During at least part of his tenure he was assisted by an unbeneficed curate, who may have done the bulk of the parish work. After the Reformation the vicarage revenues were held by Alexander Seton of Northrig and his son Henry. Here again were persons who held the vicarage and saw it as a revenue.

At Balquhiddar the perpetual vicar was sir John Thompson from/

17. Feu-Charters of Kirk-Lands, ii. fo. 23lv et passim.

from at least 1554 until 1568/9. He seems to have held no other benefices, and he probably served the cure himself. He may have been assisted by a curate. At Callander there was a similar situation; sir John Wricht, a chaplain of the choir in Dunblane cathedral, was vicar of Callander by 1548, which benefice yielded £10, and remained so until 1572, assisted by a curate. Neither of these vicars conformed to serve in the new church. Mr. John Sinclair was the vicar of Comrie, valued at £20 by 1550/1, and was also the provost of Innerpefferay. He held the vicarage until 1591, but did not conform to serve as a Protestant. He probably had limited time for service in this parish. At Dron the vicarage was held by sir Stephen Culross in 1548, a priest who was possibly a chaplain in the choir of Dunblane cathedral, and one who appears on various records in the diocese in the 1540s. Whether he was vicar of Dron in 1560 is unknown, but if so, he appears not to have conformed to serve. It is possible that Mr. John Moncrieff may have been vicar there by 1560. He was the vicar pensioner of Dunbarney who became exhorter of that parish after the Reformation. In 1579 he was styled late vicar of Dron. Who held the perpetual vicarage of Kilmahog in 1560 is a darker mystery. This revenue may later have been partially absorbed into the bishopric of Dunblane (18), and no vicar/

18. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 5.

vicar appears on record for 1560.

At Fowlis-Wester the vicar portioner at the Reformation was a canon of Inchaffray, which institution held the parsonage.(19) Dene Patrick Murray was vicar by 1558; the benefice was valued at £14. His predecessor, Mr. George Ruthven, who was vicar there in 1553/4, does not appear to have been a canon.(20) Murray was assisted in the parish by a curate; the vicar did not conform to serve in the Reformed church. The vicarage of Trinity Gask was held by another canon of Inchaffray: Dene William Oliphant. He was in possession of that benefice, valued at £17/6/8, by 29 July, 1551, retaining it through the Reformation period. Although he had a curate assisting, Oliphant was often in the parish himself, as when he received 10s. in a testament of January, 1553/4, probably money due from some ecclesiastical fine.(21) He did not conform to serve in the new church. The vicarage of Kinkell, valued at £26/13/4, was also served by a canon of Inchaffray, but the identity of the vicar in 1560 is unclear. In 1587 Dene George Spens was styled late vicar of Kinkell. He had conformed by 1573 to serve as reader at Madderty outwith the diocese. The vicar of Leny was a canon of Inchmahome; his benefice was valued at £40. By 1526 Dene James Thompson/

19. The clerical situation in parishes appropriated to religious houses is discussed further in chapter VII.

20. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 349v.

21. Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 18.

Thompson was a canon and by 1549 he was also vicar of Leny. He continued to hold that benefice until at least 1552 and probably considerably later, and was possibly assisted by a curate. By 1562/3 Mr. Alexander Drysdale, whose attachments were to the Erskine family and who was also a canon of Inchmahome, had come into possession of that benefice. If Drysdale held that benefice before 1560, he can be reckoned as one of the few beneficed clerics of the diocese who conformed to serve as a Protestant; his service in the new church was in Tillicoultry and not Leny.

Ten vicarages pertained to Dunblane cathedral.(22) At Kippen the prebend of the vicarage, valued at £26/13/4 was held by sir John Hammyll, a pluralist who was also vicar pensioner of Dunning and steward of Coupar Angus abbey, where he spent much of his time. He does not appear to have served the cure at Kippen, and he did not conform to serve in the new church. The prebendal vicarage of Logie, worth £40, was held by several persons around 1560. Mr. James Chisholm or sir John Forfar may have held this prebend at the Reformation (23), but by 1562 it was in the possession of Seton of Tullibody. Chisholm was a notable pluralist (24), and the pastoral burden was mainly carried by a curate. The prebendal vicar of Monzie, where the value/

22. These prebends will be discussed further in chapter VIII.

23. Compare below, p. 270-271.

24. Compare below, sub. Findogask.

value of that benefice was £20, was sir Andrew Strathenry by 1554, and he was assisted by a vicar pensioner. The degree of the vicar's involvement in parochial duties is uncertain, and he did not conform to serve in the Reformed church. The vicar of Abernethy was Mr. David Gourlay, a pluralist who was also parson of Torry, vicar of Petty and Kemback, and factor of the bishop of Dunblane. He demonstrably spent a great proportion of his time in the city of Dunblane.(25) He must have possessed a sizeable income, for the vicarage of Abernethy alone was valued at £53/6/8. His accumulated revenues and many duties within the bishopric precluded any pastoral work in Abernethy, and the cure was served by a vicar pensioner. The vicarage of Auchterarder was common to the canons of Dunblane cathedral, and was set in tack for £20 to sir William Blackwood, who may himself have served the cure. The vicarage of Kilmadock, valued at £22/13/4, pertained to the cathedral chancellor, who at the Reformation was Mr. James Kennedy. He paid a curate to serve in the parish, and the chancellor did not conform to serve. The vicarage of Dunblane pertained to the dean of the cathedral, at the Reformation Mr. Roger Gordon. He was apparently not active in the cure of the parish, but he conformed to serve as minister of Whithorn in the diocese of Galloway after 1570. The vicarage of Stodgeith pertained to the treasurer of the cathedral, who in/

25. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. and ii. passim.

in 1560 was Mr. William Murray. He did not serve the cure here, nor did he conform to serve in the new church. The vicarage of Muthill was the prebend of the sub-chantor of the cathedral and was valued at £33/6/8, but was set in assedation to Mr. James Hamilton for £24/6/8.(26) Neither Hamilton nor the sub-chantor, sir Edmund Chisholm appears to have served the cure, and neither conformed to serve in the new church. The vicarage of Findogask valued at £24/13/4 pertained to the archdeacon of Dunblane, who was probably sir George Wawane in 1560. By 1563 the new archdeacon was Mr. James Chisholm, who was also provost of St. Giles, prebendary of Tarbolton and vicar of Logie. Wawane would hardly have had opportunity to conform, and Chisholm did not; neither served the cure in the parish.

In these parishes where the vicarage was prebendal, the vicars were often pluralists with a variety of duties. Like the parsons, only two of the ten vicars appear to have been involved in the cure; sir Andrew Strathenry at Monzie and the vicar tacksmen of Auchterarder, sir William Blackwood. Parochial service by the other eleven vicars was considerably greater. As many as eight of the eleven may have been involved in the cure: sir Stephen Sinclair at Aberfoyle, sir Stephen Culross at Dron, sir John Thompson at Balquhadder, sir John Wricht at Callander, Dene William Oliphant at Trinity Gask, Dene Patrick Murray at Fowlis-Wester/

26. BA, 305, 315v.

Fowlis-Wester, Dene James Thompson at Leny, and the canon-vicar of Kinkell. These men did not possess such varied and profitable incomes, nor did they hold important diocesan positions; consequently they had more time for parochial duties.

The educational level of these men is also significant. Excluding the tacksman of Auchterarder, five of the nine prebendal vicars held university degrees; Mr. David Gourlay, Mr. Roger Gordon, Mr. James Chisholm, Mr. William Murray, and Mr. James Kennedy, who was also a parson in this diocese. None of these degreed men served the cure in their prebendal parishes. Only two of the other eleven vicars held degrees; Mr. Robert Herbertson and Mr. John Sinclair. Added to these men sometime around 1560 was Mr. Alexander Drysdale. Sinclair and Drysdale were probably involved in the cure. Of these twenty-one vicars and their pre-Reformation vicarages, there was only one who certainly conformed to serve as a Protestant cleric; Mr. Roger Gordon. There are several others who may have been serving in 1560 and who did conform; Dene George Spens at Kinkell, Mr. John Moncrieff at Dron, and Mr. Alexander Drysdale at Leny. None of these four men conformed to serve within the parish where he held the vicarage. Clearly the record of conformity by the vicars of the diocese was very poor.

Because many parsons and vicars did not serve the cure, and others were involved in only a minimal way, the need for ongoing pastoral care was met by providing local priests. Some of/

of these priests held a benefice - the vicarage pensionary, which yielded a small but guaranteed income. There were thirteen vicars pensioner in Dunblane diocese; six of them assisted at parishes where there was also a titular vicar. At Findogask, where the parsonage pertained to the bishop and vicarage to the archdeacon, the vicar pensioner by 1556 was Mr. Alexander Drummond. He was deceased by 1562, so it is unknown whether he made any attempt to serve in the Reformed church. Sometime after his death Mr. Robert Matheson came into the benefice. Little is known about him, save that he did not conform to serve. Prior to 1560, Drummond had probably served the cure at Findogask. An example of a parish where the vicar pensioner carried the bulk of the pastoral work is Comrie. Sir Duncan Comrie probably assisted the vicar here, but the pensioner was clearly the more involved in parish life. He had probably been pensioner since the early part of the 1550s and certainly since 1558. References to him indicate that he could be styled either vicar or curate, in either case making it impossible to tell that he was the vicar pensioner.(27) His benefice yielded £10, supplemented by various parochial fees such as payment for prayers for the souls of the deceased. The Dunblane testaments demonstrate his active participation in the parish. He conformed by 1561 to serve as a reader at Comrie. In the parish of Dunblane, sir John Lermonth was/

27. Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 36; TB, 92.

was vicar pensioner from at least 1540 until approximately 1586. He too was variously styled curate or vicar pensioner, and demonstrably served the cure at Dunblane prior to 1560.(28) He did not conform to serve, but held the benefice until his death. Abernethy is an example of how appropriation and pluralism could drain the wealth of a parish. Together the parson and vicar removed £320, leaving only the pensioner's income. Sir Alexander Gaw was the pensioner there by 1550. He may be the man who conformed to serve as reader and later minister of Muthill. At Monzie the situation is unclear, but the prebendal vicar was apparently assisted by a pensioner. For example, sir John Mathin was styled vicar here in 1552/3 and appears to have been serving the cure.(29) At Strogeith there was a vicar pensioner, but he was not personally involved with the cure of souls. Mr. Abraham Crichton was parson of Chirnside, Crawfordjohn, and Upsettlington, vicar of Aberlady, a prebendary of Abernethy, provost of the collegiate church of Dunglass, and a senator of the college of justice. Although he possessed these various important revenues, he held this £20 vicarage pensionary from at least 1553 until his death in 1565, demonstrating how even the least significant of parochial benefices could come to mean no more than a source of income to a pluralist. After Crichton's death, Andrew Drummond was/

28. Ibid., i. fo. 5 et passim.

29. Ibid., ii. fo. 5.

was presented to the benefice, and he later became reader in the parish.

At the other seven parishes where there was a vicar pensioner, the parsonage and vicarage had been absorbed into a single institution. At Glendevon they formed one prebend of the cathedral, and the cure was served by the pensioner, Mr. John Hutsoun. His benefice was valued at £14/13/4; he conformed to serve as a reader in the same parish. A similar situation prevailed at Kincardine, but who was serving the cure in 1560 is unclear. In 1563 the vicar pensioner was sir Andrew Haggy, administrator of Cambuskenneth and vicar of Falkirk and Merton, who would have had little opportunity to serve the cure. Another canon of Cambuskenneth may have done the parochial work, for Dene David Hegy, who later served as reader at Kincardine, was styled late vicar there in 1584. Dene David Hegy may have been involved in the cure here for many years, and it is possible that the 1563 reference is an error, substituting Andrew for David. Monzievaird pertained to Inchaffray and the vicarage pensionary was worth £10. As at Strogeith, this benefice was held by a pluralist. Sir Thomas Christison had been a chaplain in Culross in 1545, and he had at least one brother who was a monk of Culross abbey.(30) Sir Thomas was presented to the vicarage of Whitekirk in 1545, and from 1556 was parson and vicar/

30. Edin. Tests., 27 July, 1579.

vicar of Yetholm as well as vicar pensioner of Monzievaird. His main interests were in the parish of Yetholm, as simply demonstrated by his testament. The vicarage pensionary of Monzievaird was supplemental income to him, and on 22 November, 1556, the glebe and kirklands were feued to John Murray, brother of Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre. In the Charter of confirmation to Murray the cure is to be provided with the manse and yard, and a reference is made to a "minister of the Word of God". The phrase is possibly a scribal error in the Register of the Great Seal entry. Unfortunately, the original charter has not been located, and whether these words are found there is unknown.(31) Another parish where the vicar pensioner did not serve the cure was Strowan. In 1561 this benefice, valued at £13/6/7, was held by the pluralist prebendary of the cathedral and later archdeacon, Mr. James Chisholm. The cure was served by a curate.

At Tullibody sir Thomas Cocklaw (32), a pre-Reformation Protestant heretic, was alternately referred to as curate and vicar pensioner. He was the vicar pensioner serving the cure in 1539, but was in that year forced to flee the country. Sometime before 1569 sir Andrew Drysdale had become vicar pensioner there, possibly by 1560. Drysdale conformed to serve/

31. RMS, iv. 2061; Cf. Ochtertyre Papers; This same phrase is copied into the exchequer record of ecclesiastical charters. (Feu Charters of Kirk-Lands, i. fos. 67v-68.)

32. Cf. above, p. 45-46.

serve as reader of the parish. At Fossoway the vicar pensioner probably served the cure, possibly assisted by another priest.⁽³³⁾ In 1533 sir Michael Burt was styled vicar of Fossoway ⁽³⁴⁾; he was in fact the vicar pensioner. After Burt, the vicarage fell to the Blackwood family. Sir John Blackwood was vicar in 1553, and by 1571 sir Adam Blackwood was styled vicar pensioner. One of these two Blackwoods was probably serving in 1560, but neither conformed to serve as a Protestant clergyman.

The thirteen vicarage pensionaries discussed above demonstrate that even this minor parochial benefice might be set in tack or simply considered as a revenue entailing no pastoral responsibilities. At Dunning, Monzievaird, Strowan, and Strogeith, the vicars pensioner were pluralists who were not locally involved, but otherwise the incidence of parochial service is higher among this group of beneficed men than the others discussed. Four of the pensioners held university degrees; two were non-serving pluralists, Mr. James Chisholm and Mr. Abraham Crichton. Mr. John Hutsoun and Mr. Alexander Drummond probably both served the cure. Four vicars pensioner conformed, all of whom were actively involved in the cure prior to 1560. Sir Alexander Gaw at Abernethy probably became reader at Muthill, while sir Duncan Comrie at Comrie, Mr. John Hutsoun at Glendevon and sir Andrew Drysdale/

33. This possibility is discussed below. p. 182-183.

34. Morton Papers, no. 1053.

Drysdale at Tullibody all conformed to serve as readers in their old parishes. It is possible that Dene David Hegy was another conformer.

Taking the beneficed men as a group, at twenty Dunblane parishes parsons or vicars appear to have had some involvement in the cure. Parsons served at Dupplin and at St. Madoes; the latter was assisted by a curate. The vicar probably served at Balquhiddar, as did the vicar tacksman at Auchterarder. The vicar of Monzie was assisted by a vicar pensioner, as was the vicar of Comrie. The vicars of Leny, Trinity Gask, Kinkell, Fowlis-Wester, Aberfoyle, Dron, and probably Callander were assisted by curates. Vicars pensioner apparently provided the only service of the cure at Abernethy, Dunblane, Findogask, Glendevon, and Tullibody, while at Fossoway and Kincardine they may have been assisted by curates.

At the remaining eighteen parishes of the diocese the cure was in the main provided by unbeneficed priests. At Culross the cure was served by the monks of the Cistercian monastery (35), which had absorbed the revenues of the parish. There is here the curious situation that a chaplain from the Culross area was styled vicar there in 1560. Sir John Brown may have been a vicar, or simply a chaplain, as he is styled in earlier records. It is also possible that he was the master of the grammar school at Culross, for in 1603, when Mr. John Fairfoull was presented to/

35. Cf. below, p. 204.

to the vicarage of Culross, it was stated that: "in all tymes begane thair hes bene ane gramer schole within the abbay of Culross in the quilk the youth of that brugh and land of Culross was instructit in gramar and tranit in vertew". The previous possessor of the vicarage was Mr. David Ewing, last schoolmaster, and the vicarage, "hes bene brukit and possessit be the said Mr. John's prediccursors scolemaisters of Culross for the tyme thir money yeris begane".(36) By 1567 a canon had conformed and was exhorter at Culross. The cure of souls at the Port of Menteith was probably the province of the canons of Inchmahome, which was located within the parish. In 1528 a chaplain, sir Thomas Youngman, was styled vicar (37), but no later vicar has come to light. By 1569 Dene William Stirling, a canon, was reader there.

At several parishes an unbeneficed curate seems to have been the sole priest serving within the parish. His identity is not always known. For example, when the pluralist pensioner of Monzievaird feued the glebe and kirklands of the parish, provision was made for the cure, but who served is unknown. Because successive parsons of Tulliallan did not serve the cure, there was probably a curate, but again his identity is unknown. At Kilbride a curate served the parish, for in January and February of 1543/4 and again in 1546, sir Mathew Muschet was styled/

36. Reg. Pres., iii. fos. 70-70v.
 37. RBM, ii. 391.

styled curate of Kilbride. Whether he continued to serve until 1560 is unknown. The situation was similar at Kilmadock, where the vicar provided £9 from his teinds for the curate. That amount was left as payment for the chancellor's curate of Kilmadock on the decease of Mr. James Kennedy's predecessor.(38) Who the curate was in 1560 is unknown, but in the early 1550s he was Mr. William Anderson. The curate of Kippen on 8 October, 1536, was sir Donald Stephenson. He continued to serve and was styled curate there in 1541 and 1545/6. On 12 July, 1553, sir Adam Watson was styled curate of Kippen, but on 10 December, 1553 Stephenson reappeared in that role, illustrating the tenuous nature of the position. How much longer he served is not known. At Strowan the curate serving in 1560 was Mr. Patrick Rodger, who does not appear to have conformed to serve.

In five parishes where the sole serving priest was an unbeneficed curate, these men conformed to serve in the new church. The parsonage of Logie, pertaining to the priory of North Berwick, was in tack for £58 to Home of Polwarth at the Reformation (39), and vicarage was in tack for £40 to Seton of Tullibody by 1562. The cure was served by sir Alexander Balvaird, first recorded as curate there on 20 August, 1547. He appears in records as curate over the next decade, generally styled/

38. Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 123v.

39. BA, fo. 155v.

styled such, but once referred to as vicar. He was clearly performing the duties of the cure. By 1567 he was reader at Logie and Clackmannan. At Tullicheddill the cure of souls was provided by sir John Quhite, who was curate as early as 1546 and was certainly still serving in 1560. He conformed to become reader to that same parish. At Tullibole, where no beneficed men are recorded, the cure was served by 30 July, 1543, by sir John Henderson. He possibly continued in that position through the Reformation, although the only references to a curate at Tullibole located for the intervening years mention only the office.(40) Henderson became reader of Tullibole after the Reformation. On 7 March, 1545/6 sir Thomas Dunning was styled curate of Abruthven. He may not have served continuously until 1560, for the vicarage, including the responsibility for payment of the curate, changed hands several times during the intervening years. However, he later conformed to become the reader of the parish. There was no identifiable vicar at Kilmahog in 1560, and the cure was the concern of an unbeneficed curate. In 1544 that curate was sir Gilbert Galalie. The cure changed hands, and by 1552 sir Patrick McNab was styled curate of Kilmahog. Whether Galalie returned to serve the cure here is unknown, but he conformed to serve as reader of this parish.

In/

40. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 402; Dunb. Tests., i. fos. 72v, 118v.

In four parishes the cure appears to have been served solely by a chaplain. Who the parish priest was at Muthill in 1560 is unknown, but early references indicate that he was a chaplain. He may have been so styled because of the service he performed within the parish, for in 1544 a reference was made to the curate and daily chaplain of Muthill (41), while in 1545 there was a reference to the chaplain of the parish church of Muthill.(42) On 13 February, 1550/1, a sir Donald was styled curate of Muthill with no surname given.(43) This was probably sir Donald Philipson, styled curate there on 11 July, 1551. On 11 March, 1552/3 sir Andrew Drummond was styled daily chaplain at Muthill.(44) He may have been the notary who served in the Strathearn area during this period. If either of these men was serving the cure in 1560, neither seems to have conformed. At Exmagirdle the names of no pre-Reformation clergy have been discovered, but the cure was served by a chaplain, as in 1544.(45) The cure at Dunning was served by a chaplain, or perhaps a variety of chaplains. In 1544 sir John Gray was styled daily chaplain of Dunning, and in 1544/5 he was left 7s in a testament to pray for the soul of a deceased parishioner.(46) On 4 December, 1551, sir Robert Lyn was styled chaplain and curate of Dunning/

41. Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 57.

42. Ibid., i. fos. 106, 136b.

43. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i., fo. 18v.

44. Ibid., ii., fo. 260.

45. Dunb. Tests., i., fo. 60; A. Laing, Lindores Abbey, 432.

46. Dunb. Tests., i., fo. 28v.

Dunning. After the Reformation sir John Gray conformed to serve as reader at Dunning. The beneficed chaplainry of Dunning was held in 1560 by sir John Lermouth, the vicar pensioner of Dunblane, but the cure of Dunning seems to have been served by other chaplains. Stodgeith was also served by a daily chaplain, who by 1544 was sir Alexander Christison. Christison was styled chaplain and notary public at Milnab in Stodgeith in 1553.(47) He conformed and was serving as reader at Stodgeith, Monzievaird and Crieff by 1567. Finally, how the cure was served at the parish of Tillicoultry is not known.

The other group of curates who served as assistants have yet to be considered. There may have been any number of these men, but because they held no benefice and were infrequently mentioned in records, only a few have been located. At Kincardine, where the cure was served by a canon of Cambuskenneth who was vicar pensioner, assistance was given by an unnamed curate, as in 1544/5.(48) Similarly at Kinkell the vicar was a canon of Inchaffray, and an unnamed curate was mentioned here in 1544/5 and 1553/4.(49) The parson of St. Madoes was assisted by a curate, who in 1546 was sir John Dempsterton. If he continued to serve on to 1560, he does not appear to have conformed to serve in the new church. At Aberfoyle a curate/

47. Drummond Castle Papers, Milnab Writs, Bundle 1/no. 15.

48. Dunb. Tests., i., fo. 62v.

49. Ibid., i., fo. 62v; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii., fo. 336.

curate assisted the vicar, and was in 1544 and 1545 sir John Grenok. It is unknown how long he may have served. At Dron the vicar was assisted in 1550/1 by sir John Black, but Black's length of service is also unknown. At Fowlis-Wester the canon-vicar was assisted by a curate who by 1546/7 was sir John Murray.(50) By 22 March, 1551/2, the curate was sir David Murray, mistakenly styled pensioner. Sir David conformed to become the reader of the parish. At Trinity Gask the pre-Reformation curate who assisted the canon-vicar was sir Thomas Scot. By 1564 he was styled exhorter of Trinity Gask. The same situation may have prevailed at Leny, where in 1575/6 Duncan McKynnair was granted a legitimation and said to be the son of the late sir John McKynnair, vicar of Leny. He may have been the curate there assisting the canon-vicar. At Callander the vicar perpetual was assisted by a curate. One is mentioned but not identified in 1542, and in 1544 he is revealed to be sir Nigel Menteith.(51) The canon-vicar of Balquhiddar may have been assisted by a curate as well, for in 1547 sir Andrew Morison was styled vicar and curate of Balquhiddar.(52) It is unclear whether he was an unbeneficed curate assisting in the parish, or a vicar perpetual. There may also have been a curate assisting at Fossoway. Callander and/

50. Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 165.

51. Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 5, 6v, 93.

52. Ibid., i. fo. 162.

and Fossoway will be discussed further in chapter VI.

Several factors about these curates are important, whether they were assistants to a beneficed cleric, or unbeneficed curates or chaplains having the sole cure of souls. Of the twenty-five mentioned above, only Mr. William Anderson and Mr. Patrick Rodger held university degrees. The educational level of the curates of the diocese was thus considerably lower than that of the beneficed men. The number of curates who conformed to serve as Protestant clergy was nine, a much higher proportion ^{and a} ^{groups of} greater total number than can be attributed to all the beneficed men in the diocese.(53)

The generally conservative nature of the beneficed clergy of this diocese suggests that the Chisholm bishops exercised considerable influence over the clerics in keeping them from conforming to serve as readers, exhorters or ministers.(54) From the evidence cited, it seems that pluralist clerics were not likely to be deeply involved in the cure of souls in a particular parish, but that other men, vicars pensioners or other local priests, assumed much of the work. As far as many beneficed men were concerned, the principal function of the benefice was to provide some stipend for the cure, while he himself enjoyed the title and ^{bulk of the} revenue of the parish. The vicarage might be/

53. This phenomenon is explored further in the following chapter.

54. Discussed further in chapter VIII.

be put in assedation, removing the titular cleric even farther from the local people. When such a tack was arranged, an amount of money or other arrangement was made for the cure. For example, in the early 1550s Mr. Andrew Davidson was vicar perpetual of Abruthven. On 24 March, 1552/3, he registered a tack whereby he set the vicarage to John Mercer; £20 was reserved for sustaining the cure.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Thus the bulk of parochial revenue went to men who were unknown to the local people, often leaving very little to sustain a priest serving in the parish. It has been observed that this shortage of resources led the serving clergy to rely on the one available source to implement their incomes, the various types of dues and offerings extracted from their parishioners. The number of times the unbeneficed curates of the diocese were paid six shillings to say Mass for the deceased indicates that this source must have met some of their needs, and that a large number of these men were the ones actually involved in parish work.

The apparent lack of familiarity with pastoral duties originally associated with holding a benefice may have added to the unwillingness of the beneficed men to conform to serve in the new church and to settle down to the rigours of unfamiliar duties. The combined income drawn by pluralists gave them a degree of mobility and freedom which the pre-Reformation unbeneficed/

55. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 270v.

unbeneficed curate and post-Reformation reader patently did not possess, as well as a financial independence which would allow them the option of deciding against participation in the new church. The lack of tenure possessed by the curates (56) had disastrous results for the Catholic church within this diocese. A priest, often with little education or training, and no guaranteed income, was at the mercy of a large ecclesiastical institution, or an individual vicar whose main concerns were outwith the parish, or a tacksman who could manouevre for financial advantage. While the local curate served his parish and went among his people, his superiors could set the source of his income in tack with no reference to him or his parishioners. The effects of this instability among those intimate with their parishioners became evident after 1560.

The level of education, judged by the proportion of university degrees, drops steadily from parson to unbeneficed curate, and pluralism and security attracted the more able men. Unfortunately, these better educated men seem to have seen little advantage in working within the parish for either the old church or the new.

56. Cowan, Thesis, op. cit., i. 248.

THE REFORMED CLERGY OF DUNBLANE DIOCESE 1560-1570

Despite the sweeping nature of the changes eventually brought about by the revolution of 1560, the questionable legality of the Reformation Parliament and the anomalous relation of kirk and queen placed the new kirk in an uneasy position.(1) In a strictly religious sense, the Reformers gained a rapid hold, but the lack of vitality in defense of the old faith displayed by the beneficed Catholic clergy seems to have been one of the most telling factors in favour of the new church. The old system of church government was in a way adopted, and a grand design to utilize the ecclesiastical wealth which the new church hoped to acquire was presented but effectively rejected.(2) With the structure of the old church still intact, finance was a problem for the new church. The Reformers had won their struggle with the assistance of the nobles and the English; therefore the new church was not to have a free hand in all it desired, and the nobles did not fail to reap what benefits were available at the expense of what the kirk saw as her inheritance.

In this ambiguous state in which the Reformed church found itself, it was not unreasonable that efforts to evangelize and sustain/

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1. Gordon Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, 67-68.
 2. Knox, History, ii. 27.

sustain local congregations should be patterned on the form of church government employed by its predecessor. The parish system, with its territorial boundaries, went unquestioned, indicating the degree to which the Protestants attempted to utilise already existing modes of spiritual care. Parallels between the parish structures of the old and new churches cannot be pushed too far, but do exist. The parochial clerical functions of the two organisations might vary widely in practice. A parson need not be the pastor of his parish, whereas a minister was meaningless without his functional duties. When the latter ceased to function, this office was void as far as the local parish was concerned, where the former may always have been an unknown quantity to the parishioners. There were similarities between the two. Each was theoretically the principal ecclesiastic within the parish, wielding considerable influence over the cure. The financial income of the two was quite large compared to the lesser ecclesiastics in the two churches.(3) The parson may have passed pastoral duties, such as preaching, on to other clerics.(4) The Reformers were attempting to repair a parish system that had lost much of its vitality, and they desired a minister who could instruct the people in godliness, and who understood and could defend the Reformed faith.(5) The principal/

3. TB, 251-253, where Protestant stipends may be compared.

4. Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church, 103-104, 124-125, 172.

5. Knox, History, ii. 284.

principal duties pertaining to the minister were the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments.

It is more difficult to draw comparisons between exhorters and vicars. Only in the sense that they were both middlemen were they alike. A vicar might or might not serve the cure, while an exhorter existed only to fulfill a specific role in the parish or in several parishes. Exhorters were a step up from readers and were permitted to preach but not to administer the sacraments (6), while some might be considered on their way to becoming ministers.(7) For example, William Drummond was the exhorter at several parishes in 1567, but by 1569 he had become a minister.(8)

Parallels are more evident between readers and those who served the cure as assisting or unbeneficed curates. However, the curate was an ordained priest and thus had an authority not shared by the reader. Parson, vicar, and curates were all alike priest; exhorters and readers were not ministers. Unbeneficed curates were in an insecure position before the Reformation and must have been in severe financial straits after 1560. Without benefit of an assured income, or at least two-thirds of such an income, as provided by the government's financial settlement of 1562 (9), they were open to monetary pressures and inducements offered/

6. Knox, History, ii. 290; Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 85.

7. Knox, loc. cit.

8. Reg. Minr., fo. 30v; TB. 250, 252.

9. TB, Intro, xii.

offered by even the meagre stipends the Reformed church hoped to pay its readers. In a diocese where a conservative bishop and his successor exerted their influence against the Reformation, and probably influenced their own beneficed clergy to follow suit, it was to the lesser clergy of the established church that the Reformers turned to draw men.(10) There were many priests within the diocese who were not serving cures, and who can rarely be definitely identified. Chaplains of various types and unbeneficed clergy who cannot be located by geographical place or by specific employment abound in records.(11) Conclusions about readers, exhorters and ministers who may have come from their ranks are made only where the evidence warrants a reasonable assumption.

The evidence of the preceding chapter demonstrates a marked relationship between active service of the cure and conformity to service in Protestant pastoral duties. Reasons for conformity no doubt varied. Economic interests would be important to men who lived on little enough and who had no security that their meagre income would continue unabated. A significant number of unbeneficed clergy would apparently be out of a job if the reform movement succeeded. The apparent lack of resistance with which the beneficed clergy met the onslaught of the Reformers/

10. A brief article on the curates and readers of this diocese was published by the author in SFDC, 1972.

11. Many are mentioned in Dunb. Tests., i. and ii., passim; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. and ii., passim.

Reformers can hardly have encouraged the unbeneficed curates to continue a battle that appeared to be of little interest to their superiors. Genuine religious motivation, although it cannot be measured in men who have left little personal trace, cannot be ruled out as a reason for a change of sides. Presumably little or no clerical discipline was to be replaced with the reforming zeal of the Protestant party, and men who cared nothing for the religion they espoused would not be anxious to accept service of a more arduous nature. What parallels can be drawn between the old unbeneficed curate, if assisting the beneficed cleric, and the new reader, assisting the minister or exhorter, indicate a continuity of service in type and substance close enough to demonstrate that the change from former to latter must have been a reasonably simple matter.

With only a few men qualified to serve as ministers, the priority for parish work fell to the readers. The work carried out by readers was circumscribed, so that the higher orders of clergy had a virtual monopoly on Word and Sacrament.⁽¹²⁾ For example, Thomas Skirling, a reader at Crail in St. Andrews diocese, was summoned by the superintendent and temporarily suspended for performing a wedding and a baptism in 1562/3.⁽¹³⁾ Readers could read the Service book, the Scriptures and homilies, sometimes doing so as an assistant to the minister, while in other cases their reading was no doubt the entire service itself/

12. Knox, History, ii. 287-288.

13. St.A.K.S.R. i. 177.

itself.(14) The position was thus similar to that of the assistant or unbeneficed curate. The curate was a man with greater responsibility than his reader counterpart. He was to be able to fulfill his duties and discharge his functions "according to the requirements of the benefice and cure".(15) However, the curate often fell short of these requirements, and in an abortive attempt to rescue the position from laxity and the derision of the people, curates in general were cited to be examined as to their qualifications.(16) While the curate, like the reader, did not preach, it was ordained in 1558/9 that a curate was only to be appointed if he could say Mass and read the catechism.(17) This act indicates an apparent laxity even in these duties. It had earlier been ordained that Hamilton's Catechism be read on Sundays and principal Holy days when no preacher was present to "schaw thame the Word of God", a duty very like that of the reader. Curates were to note how often the religious preached and were to intimate coming preaching dates to the parishioners in order to insure a large attendance.(18)

Whatever the limitations in the duties and abilities of the curate, he was the man closest to the life of the parish. Whoever had the cure, be he parson, vicar or unbeneficed curate, appears/

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14. Knox, History, ii. 287; Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 83-84.
 15. Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church, 111.
 16. Ibid., 110, 136, 137.
 17. Ibid., 157.
 18. Ibid., 125, 224.

appears to have been the one called on to say mass for the deceased, and in many Dunblane parishes an unbeneficed man seems to have been the only resident cleric.(19) Thus the most important parallel between curate and reader was their immediate presence in the community and with the parishioners. The curate and the reader had similar positions not only in an ecclesiastical sense, but in the society of the local parish as well. Certain types of civic duties performed by the curate were probably continued by the reader. For example, curates were directed to register testaments and in many cases probably wrote them out as well. When the reader and former curate of Fowlis-Wester wrote out the testament of David Murray of Kerse in 1577, he may have been continuing in a duty he had performed for many years.(20)

Because the individual identity of unbeneficed serving curates can only occasionally be ascertained, just how many old curates conformed is uncertain. The preceding chapter demonstrates that, including various types of parochial chaplains, at least nine such men did. Other possible conformers will be noted in this chapter. The Jesuit priest and Papal envoy to Mary Queen of Scots, Nicholas de Gouda, wrote in 1562 that the Protestant ministers were "either apostate monks, or laymen of low/

19. Dunb. Tests, i. and ii., *passim*.

20. Patrick, *op. cit.*, 74-75; Edin. Test., 14 April, 1578.

low rank, and are quite unlearned, being tailors, shoemakers, tanners, or the like." (21) However true this may have been within de Gouda's own circumscribed acquaintance with Scotland, evidence from such dioceses as Galloway and Orkney demonstrates that considerably more than apostate monks had conformed to serve.(22) Even in Dunblane diocese enough vicars pensioners and unbeneficed curates conformed to indicate a different picture from that drawn by de Gouda.

A study of the Reformed Church personnel of Dunblane diocese for the first decade after 1560 yields a considerable amount of information about their backgrounds and employment. In an area basically rural the number of ministers who would serve in this first decade would be small, but at least fifteen different men served as ministers within the diocese. Some were there only for brief periods and with limited involvement, but a significant number were men who spent the major part of their ecclesiastical lives in and around the area. They represent the type of personnel available for service in the Reformed church, as well as indicate the extent to which ministers were moved from parish to parish. There were certain men who, because of outstanding ability, had brief careers in the diocese, later to move/

21. Papal Neg., 136.

22. Gordon Donaldson, "The Galloway Clergy at the Reformation," Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 3rd series, vol. xxx; "Bishop Adam Bothwell and the Reformation in Orkney", Scottish Church History Society, xiii.

move on to substantial theological, ecclesiastical and academic careers. Two such men were Mr. Robert Pont and Mr. Andrew Simson.(23)

Mr. Robert Pont was probably born in or around Culross, where his family had possession of one third of "Schirismyll". He was a local person who was later to begin his career as a minister with a brief stay within the diocese. His father, Robert, was deceased by 1540, when the family lands in Culross went to the eldest son, David.(24) By 1552 David Pont was dead, and Robert was infeft in the lands; his mother, Katherine Maisterton, received a liferent of the same.(25) The lands were a part of the bailiary of the monastery of Culross, for in 1584 commendator Alexander Colville granted them to Zachery Pont, son and heir apparent to Mr. Robert.(26) Growing up near that religious house, Pont would have come into contact with the monks, one of whom, Dene John Kinpont, was for a time the curate of the parish of Culross and possibly a relative of Pont's. Pont may himself have been destined for an ecclesiastical career, for he had taken a degree and appears in 1560 to have been acting as a notary.(27) In July 1562 he was appointed minister of Dunblane, serving there only until December next.(28) He went on to a lengthy/

23. Documentation for dates and locations of clergy will be found in Appendices I and II.

24. Cal. Charters, 1247, 18 Aug., 1540.

25. Ibid., 1488.

26. Ibid., 2724.

27. Feu-Charters of Kirk-Lands, i. fo. 74v.

28. BUK, 18, 28.

lengthy ecclesiastical and juridical career in Moray and then Edinburgh. Although his career in the ministry probably began in his home diocese, his acknowledged fame really came later on.

Mr. Andrew Simson, master of the grammar school at Perth, was minister of Dunning and Cargill by 1564 and probably earlier. In 1564 he was translated to Dunbar, and his ecclesiastical and academic careers continued there. Thus Simson's career as a minister commenced at a location not far from his place of service prior to 1560. Both of these men possessed outstanding talents.

Two other ministers made appearances in Dunblane diocese for greater or shorter periods of time, but are best known as men who gained notoriety elsewhere. Mr. Robert Montgomery, later to be the focus of a national ecclesiastical dispute over the bishopric of Glasgow, had been one of the earliest ministers within the Reformed church. Having served at Coupar in the early 1560s, he was minister at Dunblane and Kilbride from at least 1567 until 1572. He possibly followed on the truncated career of Mr. Thomas Drummond at Dunblane. Thenceforth he was minister of Stirling and in 1581 accepted the above mentioned bishopric. Mr. James Paton was minister of Muckhart by 1567 and appears as well to have had oversight of Dollar and Glendevon.(29) It was only in connection/

29. Reg. Minr., fo. 28v.

connection with one Dunblane parish, Glendevon, that Paton came into contact with the diocese. On 8 September, 1571, he was promoted to the bishopric of Dunkeld, but was the center of a controversy over the bishopric and particularly over its funds. Little is known of his career or influence within Dunblane diocese, but it was probably slight, as his contact was minimal.

Three other ministers need to be mentioned as men who had only temporary or minimal connections with the diocese. Mr. William Edmonston, who was minister of Kinfauns in the diocese of St. Andrews, had oversight of St. Madoes from at least 1568 until approximately 1573. By 1574 St. Madoes had a minister of its own in the person of the pre-Reformation parson, Mr. David Balvaird. Edmonston continued to give long service as a minister elsewhere. Mr. Thomas McGibbon was schoolmaster of the grammar school at Dundee before the Reformation. His connection with Dunblane diocese is tenuous, for although he served as a minister for many years, this service was almost altogether outwith the diocese. The only record evidence available linking McGibbon with Dunblane diocese is a reference in the Register of the Privy Seal in 1567/8, where he is styled minister of Kinkell, Fowlis-Wester, and Moneydie.⁽³⁰⁾ If he did indeed have oversight at Fowlis-Wester and Kinkell, his basic ministry and principal parish throughout his life continued to be Moneydie. In 1576/

30. RSS, vi. 82.

1576, while minister of Moneydie, he had oversight of six other parishes: Kilmavenok, Blair Atholl, Struan, Lude, Rannoch and Kinclaven: but these were all in the diocese of Dunkeld. Patrick Galt, formerly a monk of Lindores, appeared as a minister as early as 1563, when he was at Portmoak and Kinglassie. By 1567 he was minister at Abernethy and Abdie, remaining so until at least 1572. By 1574 he was minister outside the diocese, at Duns, Fogo, Polwarth and Langton.

These seven ministers and their ecclesiastical careers present a *prima facie* case for the mobility of the Reformed clergy, but such an assumption could be misleading for a variety of reasons. Ministers, as opposed to exhorters or readers, would have been more likely to move from one particular parish to another, or to a wider area of employment, simply for reasons of expediency. The shortage of qualified ministers with which the early reformers were confronted would mean that such men as Pont and Simson would be needed to carry on a wider ministry. Montgomery, Galt and Pont represent that portion of Dunblane reformed clergy who can most accurately be described as mobile. Mr. James Paton, on the other hand, appears to have served in only one location, with the oversight of several parishes, until promotion to the bishopric of Dunkeld. To some degree his promotion was a matter of political fortune.

Other men simply had oversight of certain parishes until better arrangements could be made. A case in point is Edmonston at/

at St. Madoes. He was replaced in that parish by the new minister, Mr. David Balvaird. However, having become the minister of Lethendy and Cargill within the diocese of Dunkeld, he served this new charge for approximately twenty-five years. He may have begun his work in Lethendy in 1571, when he was presented to that vicarage.(31) Similarly Mr. Thomas McGibbon, was minister of Moneydie for some thirty years until his death. These last two men demonstrate that as new ministers began to fill vacant areas of need, certain changes in oversight arrangements became necessary, and that lengthy periods of service in one area or parish were common. The fact that McGibbon received the parsonage of Moneydie in 1567/8 and the vicarage in 1583 appears as a reminder that it was expected he would remain in that parish.(32) When benefices became available upon vacancy to Reformed clergy after 1567, the presentation of the local clergy to these benefices must have decreased their mobility. Mr. Robert Pont might demit the benefice of Birnay in Moray when he no longer served there, but his sources of income were varied and his options wide.

There remain the bulk of ministers within the diocese who served their parishes during this decade with a reasonable degree of constancy. Patrick Wemyss was minister of Dunbarney, Moncrief/

31. RSS, vi. 1150.

32. RSS, vi. 82; Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 89.

Moncrief, Dron, Pottie, Exmagirdle, Arngask and Rhynd in 1567. Although he was designated minister of Abernethy as well in 1574, by 1576 he was again called minister of his original multiple parish. He was presented to the parsonage of Dunbarney in 1568 and the vicarage of the same as late as 1596/7.(33) It is obvious from the Register of Assignations that he continued to serve this same area, based primarily at Dunbarney, until after 1600. His length of service in one area is typical in reflecting the work of the parish minister in rural areas. John Dykis is a signal case for constancy. It is not known when he entered the ministry or what his background was prior to 1560, but by 1567 he was minister at Culross and Tulliallan. By 1574 he had oversight of Crombie as well.(34) He continued to serve these three parishes until at least 1580, and was still minister of Culross and Tulliallan in 1589 and of Culross as late as 1591.(35)

Mr. John Hammyll presents a more complicated but more interesting picture. He was the nephew of an ecclesiastic of Dunblane diocese who did not conform, sir John Hammyll. Mr. John Hammyll, who was probably a student at St. Andrews in the mid 1550s, may have been headed toward an ecclesiastical career at that early date. He conformed quite early, for the fact that he/

33. RSS, vi. 400; RSS, 69, fo. 81.

34. Wodrow Misc., 359; These three parishes were all dependents of the monastery at Culross.

35. Assignations, 1589, fo. 36; 1591, fo. 27.

he was a minister by 1562 is confirmed by an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts, where it is noted that he had been attacked "under silence of nicht".(36) By 1563 he was at Kinglassie and at Portmoak, and by 1567 he was minister at Dunning, Auchterarder and Abruthven. He continued to serve these parishes, with Kinkell as well, from 1574 until he disappeared from the records in 1585. It becomes clear in the later records that Auchterarder was considered his primary parish, but he received the vicarage pensionary of Dunning as well and was called the vicar and minister of Dunning.(37)

Robert Menteith was a minister within the diocese for nearly twenty-five years, possibly longer. He appeared first as the minister of Alva and Tillicoultry in 1567, remaining there until 1572. In that year he was translated to Dunblane with the departure of Mr. Robert Montgomery. He remained at Dunblane until at least 1576, but was minister at Dollar, Alva, Tillicoultry and Tullibody by 1578. He remained as minister at least of Tillicoultry and Alva until 1589, when he was deprived because he had "not knowlege in the grounds of religion, neither of the text quhairon he teichit". Menteith served as a minister in two places but remained within the diocese. Alexander Fergy is first noted as the minister of Logie and Clackmannan in 1567, but later evidence indicates that he was minister there from 1564/

36. TA, xi. 233.

37. Reg. Pres., ii., fo. 87; RSS, vii. 1028.

1564. He was presented to the vicarage pensionary of Tullibody and the vicarage of Kilmadock in 1569 and 1571 respectively.

By 1574 his oversight included the parishes of Kilmadock, Kincardine, Lecropt, and Logie. He was minister of those churches until 1589 (38), and he continued at Logie and held the above mentioned benefices until 1591, in which year he died.(39)

Fergy had oversight of a number of parishes, but he was considered primarily the minister of Logie. On 10 December, 1588, he was granted a stipend for diligence as the minister of that parish for twenty-four years, for he had now "drawin to aige".(40)

William Drummond, whose pre-Reformation antecedents are unknown, is first noted as an exhorter in 1567. His career is illustrative of the situation faced by the Reformed kirk because of the shortage of ministers. The Register of Ministers is not altogether satisfactory, but it appears from the marginal indications in that volume that, while still an exhorter, he had responsibility for Stodgeith, Crieff, Monzievaird, Comrie and Tullicheddill in much the same way a minister would have. He was minister of these same parishes from 1569 until at least 1572. Monzie was substituted for Comrie by 1574, and Drummond continued as minister of these parishes until approximately 1589; he was deceased by 1592.(41) He is an example of an exhorter/

38. Assignations, 1589, fo. 32.

39. RSS, 63, fos. 218, 224v.

40. RSS, 58, fo. 85.

41. RSS, 64, fo. 45.

exhorter who matched the Reformers' design and rose to the rank of minister. Sir Alexander Gaw was another early Protestant clergyman who rose through the ranks. Formerly vicar pensioner of Abernethy, he is first noted as reader at the parish of Muthill on 17 May, 1564.(42) This move from a former parish to serve as a reformed cleric elsewhere is rather unusual, and may reflect an acknowledgement of his ability and the fact that there was already a reader at Abernethy. He became an exhorter and was possibly a minister at Muthill and Strowan by 1567.(43) He continued as minister there until 1574, and by 1576 was minister of Trinity Gask with oversight of Findogask and Mad-derty, where he continued for many years.

Mr. Thomas Drummond was one of the younger men who joined the Reformation at an early stage. It is likely that he was a student at St. Andrews in 1553-1554. If this is so, he continued as proctor and examiner there, as in 1557-1558. He must have been considered a capable man, for by 1563 he was minister of Creich.(44) In that same year Drummond was one of the ministers commissioned to plant kirks in Menteith for one year. In connection with this assignment he was called a minister in Dunblane, Muthill and divers other kirks in 1563/4. There is no way to judge the content of his work, but whatever his effect, he was concerned/

42. P.B. Andrew Drummond, fo. 61.

43. TB, 252, 251; Reg. Minr., fo. 31.

44. BUK, i. 35; Deeds, 47, fo. 389.

concerned with a variety of parish churches within the diocese, acting something like a protempore commissioner.(45) His later career is even more obscure. He appears to have remained as a minister in Dunblane until 1565, when it was reported by the English agent Randolph that Drummond had been silenced by the queen.(46) Nothing else is known of his active ministry. He must have died while quite a young man, for his widow, Nicolace Murray, was granted £100 by the church in 1569. She was still alive, as their son Mr. David Drummond, was as well in 1592.(47) It is significant that Dunblane was served by three important ministers during this first decade: Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. Thomas Drummond, and Mr. Robert Montgomery. The Reformers may have felt that men of ability were needed in that city to counteract the influence of the Chisholms, particularly as Dunblane was some distance from St. Andrews and the superintendent.

There remain four men who might be listed under the title of minister during this first decade of formal Reformation. The first of these is *deane* William Melrose, a canon of Inchaffray. In the Register of Ministers Melrose is called parson and minister of Dupplin. It is true that he was presented to the parsonage on 22 April, 1569. However, at the time of this presentation he was styled the exhorter at Findogask.(48)

It/

45. A & D, 29, fos. 170-170v.

46. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 153.

47. TB, 254; Deeds, 47, fo. 389.

48. RSS, vi. 582.

It is likely that Melrose, exhorter and later minister at Pindogask, may have had oversight of Dupplin. However, according to records where dating is easier and more nearly exact than in the Register, it appears that he was not a minister until after 1570.(49) Allan Baxter is a previously unknown ecclesiastic who appeared for a brief time in the early part of the decade. He is known only because of two references in 1563, when he witnessed a charter and a sasine. Baxter was styled minister of Leny on both of these occasions, 9 June and 28 September.(50) Thereafter nothing concerning his existence has been discovered; ecclesiastical and financial records are silent about him. This was a remote parish where one might not expect to find a minister so early, but he may have been a privately financed minister. Colin Cambell of Glenorchy financed the minister of Kenmore in these early years (51), and it is possible that someone at Leny paid Baxter. The Buchanans of Leny may have taken an interest in the parish, for by 1573 Solomon Buchanan was reader there. The case of sir William Scot at Callander is not unlike that of Baxter, except that he is known to ecclesiastical records. Scot was probably the curate of the parish before the Reformation. There was certainly a curate/

49. Ibid., 582, 1707; RPC, xiv. 109-110.

50. Few Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 129; Buchanan of Leny Writs, Bundle 5/no. 6.

51. W. A. Gillies, In Famed Breadalbane, 261-263.

curate in the parish in 1544, and sir William Scot was at Callander by 1552.(52) The probability that he was the curate is increased by his appearance with the vicar of the parish in 1554.(53) Although he was to become a minister, he was not promoted until around 1576.(54) However, in one of these same early documents where Baxter was called minister of Leny, Scot was styled minister of Callander. Evidence from 1569 makes it clear that he was by then a reader.(55) His ecclesiastical status remains unclear, for minister was a general as well as a specific term. His career will be traced under the discussion of readers below. Finally there is Dene John Ure, an Augustinian friar from St. Andrews who became minister of Leuchars. In June 1564 he was supposed to be translated to Menteith to serve because he spoke Gaelic. If he did go to Menteith, which parish he served is unknown. There appears to have been little or no break in his service at Leuchars; for example, he was certainly at that parish on 5 January, 1565/6.(56) It may be that the intention of the general assembly was never carried out, or that another minister met the need.

The service of these men suggests several salient features about the nature of the ministry during these early years. First, the scarcity of qualified men made it necessary to move ministers from/

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- 52. Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 93; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii., fo. 130v.
 - 53. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 395.
 - 54. Assignations, 1576, fo. 37.
 - 55. Reg. Minr., 30; TB, 254.
 - 56. HMC, vii. 724.

from one area to another more frequently in the first few years after 1560 than was the case later on. Four of those ministers who served in this diocese during the decade had first served in Fife before moving west: Dene Patrick Galt, Mr. Robert Montgomery, Mr. John Hammyll, and Mr. Thomas Drummond. To these might be added John Ure. These moves may reflect a need felt by Superintendent Wynram to shift a number of qualified men from the east coast area, with its Protestant burghs, into the more rural area of his superintendency. Other ministers, such as Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. Andrew Simson, Mr. James Paton, Mr. William Edmonston, and Mr. Thomas McGibbon, had early contact within the diocese, but were removed from the same for a variety of reasons discussed above. Robert Menteith was moved from one location within the diocese to Dunblane itself and back again to his original place of service. However, some of these men such as McGibbon and Edmonston, were not basically mobile, but simply had oversight of a parish within the diocese for a limited time. What has sometimes been interpreted as frequent moves or extensive mobility seems more likely to be the inclusion or exclusion of parishes within the oversight of one man, while he himself remained essentially the minister of one parish.

It is of note that of the ten men who displayed some degree of mobility in these early years, eight, excluding only Dene Patrick Galt and Robert Menteith, had university degrees. Two had been schoolmasters. In a small and rural diocese, with none/

none of the monetary or demographical appeal of an Edinburgh or other urban area, this high percentage of qualified men must place a severe question mark over De Gouda's accusation concerning the early Protestant clergy. Not only does this high standard of men go some way toward explaining why they themselves were among the most mobile of the early clergy, it is as well an indication of the degree of proficiency sought by the Reformed church. Eight out of the fifteen ministers who served in this diocese before 1570, that is over 50%, held degrees, not an insignificant accomplishment. Having said that, it must be pointed out that those ministers who on the whole displayed less mobility or who served consistently within the diocese, did not hold university degrees. Although sir Alexander Gaw appears to have made a move in location after 1570, he, William Drummond, John Dykis, Alexander Fergy and Patrick Wemyss displayed a basic constancy of service to one area over lengthy periods of time. Minor shifts in parishes of oversight, such as Drummond's exchange of Monzie for Comrie, reflect changes within the diocese and do not indicate a change in the general location of service for these men. The fact that they did not hold university degrees may partially explain their lack of mobility, for their early and consistent service suggests that they were local men who rose to serve in their own or nearby parishes. Three of these men are known only as ministers, but Gaw and Drummond are known to have served/

served as reader or exhorter before being promoted, thus strengthening the case for local men who spent the early years of reform in a sort of probationary training.

Although the office of exhorter disappeared in the early 1570s (57), it is a factor to be considered in the formative years of the Reformed church. Some of the men who appear as exhorters during the decade served at different stages as ministers or readers. Thus they are discussed, or at least mentioned, in other sections of this chapter. During the decade ten men served as exhorters in the diocese of Dunblane. Four of them went on to become ministers and served as such for lengthy periods of time. William Drummond, Dene William Melrose and sir Alexander Gaw have been discussed above. John McCorquodale was the exhorter at Balquhadder, Killin, Ardewan, and Strathfillan in 1567 until possibly 1573, having oversight of only one parish in Dunblane diocese. By 1574 he too had advanced to the ministry. In 1569 he had become prior of the small Augustinian house at Strathfillan.(58) He continued to serve as minister at Strathfillan, Killin and Ardewan from 1574 until at least 1580.(59) Thus McCorquodale's service to one area/

57. Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 83.

58. RSS, vi. 578.

59. Assignations, 1580, fo. 3lv.

area was consistent over a significantly lengthy period.

The case of Mr. Adam Marshall presents a different situation. He was definitely in the parish of Fossoway by 1552, and he appears on record with the vicar pensioner of Fossoway in 1553.(60) He was probably assisting the pensioner with parish duties. Marshall first comes to light as exhorter at Fossoway by 1567. Whether he had previously been a reader is unknown. His long career in the Protestant church is undistinguished but interesting. He was an exhorter until at least 1572, but with the lapse of that office, was reduced to the status of reader by 1574. Despite this setback, Marshall later had an opportunity to serve as a minister in his parish. Just when he was promoted is unknown, as the records of the assignments of stipends are not always complete or accurate. He was styled minister in the Stirling Presbytery records of August 1581.(61) He may have served as such for some seven years; for example, he was styled minister of Fossoway in 1585.(62) On 29 August, 1588 Marshall was presented to the vicarage pensionary of Fossoway with the usual stipulation that he should be tried to ascertain his qualification as a minister.(63) This trial may have had unsatisfactory results, for by 1589 Marshall had again been reduced to a reader.(64) During his term as a minister, he had responsibility/

60. Dunb. Tests., ii. fos. 4v, 15v.

61. Stirling Pres. Rec., 13 August, 1581.

62. Assignations, 1585, fo. 28.

63. RSS, 58, fo. 14v.

64. Assignations, 1589, fo. 32v.

responsibility for Fossoway, Glendevon and Tullibole.(65) From his original stipend of £26/13/4 as exhorter and reader, he experienced a financial rise to £100/8/10 with his promotion to the ministry.(66) With his demotion came a consequent return to a reader's stipend. After this experience, he continued to serve as a reader until 1590, but at Glendevon.(67) Marshall, although he held a master's degree, did not show any extraordinary accomplishment as a Protestant cleric; he had also apparently never been more than an assisting curate prior to 1560.

The five other exhorters of this decade had shorter or less distinguished careers. John McCathren may have been a reader at Inchcailloch in Glasgow diocese who moved to become an exhorter at Aberfoyle in 1567. He continued to serve there in that capacity until 1571, when he was deposed "for certane offences committed be him".(68) Dene Walter Millar, a monk of Culross, was the exhorter at Clackmannan and Culross by 1567. He continued there until 1574, when he, like Marshall, had been reduced to the status of reader.(69) However, by 1576 Millar had been replaced as reader at Culross by Mr. Robert Maxwell. Millar continued as a member of the convent and servant of the commendator until at least 1587, perhaps having left parochial service because/

65. Ibid., 1586, fo. 33.

66. TB, 252; Assignations, 1576, fo. 36; 1586, fo. 33.

67. Assignations, 1588, fo. 38v; 1590, fo. 34.

68. Reg. Minr., 30.

69. Wodrow Misc., 359.

because of his demotion. Not unlike the case of Millar was that of Mr. Alexander Drysdale. Drysdale held a degree but never rose to any significant clerical heights. A canon of Inchmahome and vicar of Leny, he was serving as reader of Tillicoultry and Alva by 1567. He appears to have been an exhorter there in 1569 (70), but by 1574 he was again a reader. He, like Millar, seems to have left the clergy, continuing as vicar of Leny and servitor of the commendator of Inchmahome until at least 1581. Thomas Glass is known to have been reader at Monzievaird by 1568. He rose to become an exhorter, serving as such from 1570 until at least 1572. He was deceased by 1574, and is discussed below as a reader.

Finally, Sir Thomas Scot was called exhorter at Trinity Gask in 1565. He is an example of an old church curate who conformed quite early. On 12 January, 1564/5, he was styled the "curate and exhorter in the parroch Kirk of the Trinitie Gask", having thus conformed to serve in his old parish. It is noteworthy that Scot espoused his reformed convictions in an area where the vicar was patently conservative, and where the anti-Protestant Lord Oliphant was a powerful magnate. It must therefore be assumed, whatever other motivation might have been present, that Scot's conversion involved a genuine religious enthusiasm. Scot was having difficulties over land leased/

70. TB, 244.

leased by him to one Andrew Franklaw, who had been violently put forth from the land by the superior; Dene William Oliphant. Scot may himself have been in a difficult legal position, attempting to retain control of these lands which were his by virtue of his office of curate. The language used to describe Scot's employment illustrates how the curate's position was tenuous and differed from the beneficed priest. He was "feit and conducit be Dene William Oliphant", that is, he was hired with a fee and engaged to do the work.(71) Scot's situation illustrates how unbeneficed men involved in parochial work were under pressure to find and accept new employment. By 1567 Scot had moved to the parish of Findogask, where he was reader until about 1578. Whether he was mistakenly styled exhorter or had held that office and been demoted to reader is unknown.

The exhorters of Dunblane diocese make up a small part of the Protestant clergy, for the office was intentionally one of flux. One half of these exhorters rose to become ministers, although the case of Mr. Adam Marshall is somewhat unusual. Of the three who were demoted to the status of readers, only Scot continued to serve as such for any length of time. Dene Walter Millar and Mr. Alexander Drysdale apparently resigned; John McCathran was deprived.

Only two of these ten men held university degrees, a much smaller/

71. A & D, 32, fo. 404; Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, i. 627; ii. 437.

smaller proportion than the early ministers of the diocese. The careers of the degree holders were undistinguished by any notable rise in clerical status. Mobility for the exhorters was not such a factor as with the ministers, for these were in the main local men who began their work as readers or exhorters in one area or parish and continued to serve there throughout their clerical careers. This consistency is notable among those who rose to become ministers, and might have been the most likely to move to new parishes. William Drummond continued to serve as minister in more or less the same parishes he had served as exhorter. Sir Alexander Gaw served as reader and exhorter in the same parish, remaining there with responsibility as a minister until about 1574. John McCorquodale's career as a minister was outwith the diocese, but he continued to serve one area consistently. Dene William Melrose continued to serve at Findogask after his promotion to the ministry, although with his promotion came wider parochial responsibilities.

As was the case with the ministers, the incidence of multiple parish work was not rare for exhorters. McCathran at Aberfoyle appears to have served only one parish, as did Marshall at Fossoway and Scot at Trinity Gask. On the other hand, Dene Walter Millar served as exhorter first at two parishes, Clackmannan and Culross and then had Tulliallan added as well. Mr. Alexander Drysdale was reader at Tillicoultry and Alva and possibly exhorter at both as well. Thomas Glass, exhorter at Monzievaird/

Monzievaird, may have served Moneydie as well during part of his service. Sir Alexander Gaw appears to have served as exhorter (or minister) at two parishes; Dene William Melrose served two and possibly three parishes as an exhorter for several years. John McCorquodale was exhorter at four parishes and William Drummond at five. Seven exhorters have antecedents in the pre-Reformation church. Sir Thomas Scot was the curate of Trinity Gask, sir Alexander Gaw the vicar pensioner of Abernethy; Mr. Adam Marshall was the likely curate of Fossoway, Dene Walter Millar a monk of Culross and Dene William Melrose a canon of Inchaffray. Mr. Alexander Drysdale was a canon of Inchmahome. John McCorquodale is a possible pre-Reformation cleric. He was styled sir in the Register of the Privy Seal in 1584, but in 1581/2 was given no designation in that same source.

There remains the largest group of Protestant clergy serving in this diocese during the decade, the readers. Some of these men have already been noted in other categories. Thirty-two readers served during this period. For twelve of them no definite pre-Reformation ecclesiastical connections have been discovered. Thomas Glass was serving as reader of Monzievaird by 1568 and appears also to have served at Moneydie in 1568-1569. He probably only assumed the work at Monzievaird in 1568, for in 1567 a different man was reader there. At some time unknown Glass was presented to the vicarage of Monzievaird. In/

In 1565 the reader had been William Heriot, who removed himself to Strathardail without superintendent Wynran's permission.(72) This is probably the same man as William Eviot, who was reader at Strathardail and Glenshee from 1567-1574.(73)

By 1567 John Lennox was the reader at Pottie, Dron and Exmagirdle. He continued at Exmagirdle until at least 1576, but is unknown after that date. John McHarmik is known only as a reader at Aberfoyle in 1568. Richard Differis was reader at St. Madoes by 1567 and was serving at Kinfauns in 1569. He may have been Richard Differis of Ghokton, a man mentioned on an assize dealing with the laird of Kinfauns in 1546/7.(74) If not this same man, he was probably a member of that family. James Murray appears first as a reader at Strowan in 1567 where he continued to serve until 1585. Similarly, John Wemyss appears at Abernethy and Abdie in 1567. On 11 September, 1572, he was presented to the vicarage of Abernethy. He continued to serve as reader there, apparently until 1594, although he seems to have demitted the vicarage in 1587. Lengthy service was also given by Michael Lermonth, reader at Kilbride from 1567 until 1571. The following year he became an exhorter, and by 1574 was minister there, also overseeing Leny, Kilmahog, and Callander. Lermonth continued to serve as minister at Kilbride, part of the time/

72. BUK, 58.

73. TB, 252; Reg. Minr., 19.

74. RMS, iv. 69 et seq., 356.

time having Leny in his charge as well, and later overseeing Kincardine. Having risen through the ranks to become a minister, he served as such for fifteen years. The career of John Burdon at Balquhiddy follows much the same pattern. He was reader there by 1567, and was an exhorter in 1571-1572. He was presented to the vicarage there in 1568/9, and by 1574 was styled minister. In 1584 Burdon became the first minister to be deposed by a presbytery (Perth). It was said that he was "decernit unqualifiet....to use and exerce the office of ane minister".(75) However, according to the Register of Assignations, he continued to serve as minister at Balquhiddy until 1590.

William Scot, the reader at Monzie by 1568, appears also to have been a new clergyman. It is possible that he studied at St. Andrews in 1563-1564. He was likely a local man, for many Scotts lived around Monzie, and several were involved in ecclesiastical duties there in the mid-16th century. He had probably only become a clergyman in 1568, for there was a different reader at Monzie in 1567. He served as reader there for twenty-two years, having been presented to the vicarage in 1573. In 1590 he was accused of being an abuser of the sacraments and was deprived. This deprivation was repeated on 1 December, 1591, for his "inhabilitie conforme to the ordour ecclesiastical".(76)

The/

75. RSS, 51, fo. 137.

76. RSS, 63, fo. 84v.

The reader at Monzie in 1567 was another Scot, James. His presence there is certain for that year only, unless the name James was mistakenly entered for William. A James Scot had been a Black Friar at Perth in the 1540s, but it is more likely that the reader was a local man. Thomas Redock was the reader at Kilmadock in 1569 for an indeterminate length of time. No other reader appears before that date, and none is known again until 1576. The only possible connection established for Redock with the old church is a reference to a sir Thomas Redock who was a priest in the Innerpeffray area in 1562.(77)

There were twenty readers in the diocese who had clearly established ecclesiastical connections prior to 1560. Sir Duncan Comrie was the vicar pensioner of Comrie before 1560 who conformed to serve as reader by 1561. He served until at least 1572, and was deceased by 1574. He appears to have risen no higher than reader. His conformity provided a continuity of service within the parish, for he was the local cleric known by the parishioners both before and after the Reformation. Sir Thomas Dunning, curate of Abruthven as early as 1545, became the reader there by 1567. He provided many years of service to that parish, remaining as reader until at least 1576. Sir Gilbert Galalie, one of the pre-Reformation curates of Kilmahog, became/

77. Drummond Castle Papers, Innerpeffray Writs, Bundle 1/no. 9.

became the reader there by 1569. He may have conformed earlier, for no Protestant clergyman at this parish has come to light before that date.(78) He served as reader there until at least 1574, but was replaced by 1576. Galalie never rose to be more than a reader. The vicar pensioner of Glendevon since 1552, Mr. John Hutsoun, was reader there by 1568. He too may have conformed earlier, as no other reader has been discovered before that date. He served there as reader until 1572, when he died, leaving his widow, Catherine Henderson. Sir John Quhite, the curate of Tullicheddill by 1546, continued to serve in his parish after the Reformation by becoming reader there by 1567 and remaining such until 1574. Similarly, sir John Henderson, curate of Tullibole by 1543, continued service there by becoming reader by 1567 and serving until at least 1574. Sir Alexander Balvaird, curate of Logie from at least 1539, became the reader for Logie and Clackmannan by 1567. He served at Logie as either curate or reader for a period of over fifty years, for he was still styled reader in 1590. At Fowlis-Wester the curate in 1551/2 was sir David Murray, who conformed by 1567 to serve as reader of his parish until 1579. Another priest who was probably a local man was sir Andrew Drysdale. He was presented to the chaplainry of St. Margaret in Edinburgh castle/

78. Reg. Minr., 30.

castle in 1559, and at his death in 1569 was styled late vicar pensioner of Tullibody. Drysdale may have been pensioner in 1560, and can thus be considered another conformer. He was certainly a priest, and possibly the curate of Clackmannan parish in 1553.(79) His presentation to the vicarage of Tullibody would explain the move from Clackmannan. He was serving as reader at Tullibody by 1567 and remained there until his death. Sir David Murye was a pre-Reformation chaplain resident in Auchterarder in 1553.(80) Whether he participated in the cure of that parish is uncertain, but he was certainly a local priest known to the parishioners of Auchterarder. By 1567 he was the reader of that parish, remaining so until 1580.

Three canons served as readers. Dene Alexander Murray, a canon of Inchaffray, was reader at Kinkell by 1567, continuing there until 1585. Dene William Stirling, a canon of Inchmahome, is known as the reader at the Port of Menteith by 1569. No previous reader is recorded for that parish, leaving open the possibility that he may have conformed earlier. By 1571 he was also reader at Aberfoyle and by 1574 was the reader at Kippen. In 1578 and 1580 he was again styled reader at the Port, and in 1581/2 was styled exhorter there. In 1585 and 1586 he was styled minister at Kippen and the Port, but if this designation is correct, his service as a minister was short-lived/

79. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 302.

80. Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 23.

short-lived, for by 1588 he was again reader at the Port. His career as a Protestant clergyman apparently came to an end in 1589. Mr. Alexander Drysdale, also of Inchmahome and possibly a student at St. Andrews in 1557-1558, was serving as reader at Tillicoultry and Alva by 1567. His career as an exhorter has been discussed above.

The daily chaplain at Stodgeith, sir Alexander Christison, was reader at Stodgeith and Monzievaird by 1567. He was reader there, as well as at Crieff from 1568 until at least 1572. He was presented to the vicarage pensionary of Crieff in 1568, and until 1586 was reader there. He was styled the late vicar of Crieff in 1588. Sir John Gray was a daily chaplain at Dunning who conformed to serve as reader there by 1567, continuing until at least 1576.

Sir Thomas Scot, an exhorter discussed above, was reader at Findogask by 1567, serving until 1578. He was apparently deposed for reasons unknown in 1572, but reappeared and continued to serve. Sir Alexander Gaw, discussed as minister and exhorter, was reader at Muthill by 1564. There may have been another former priest, sir John Moresoun, who served for a short time as reader at Muthill before 1564.⁽⁸¹⁾ Mr. David Balvaird, who was probably educated at St. Andrews in 1538-1540, appears in the parish of St. Madoes by the 1540s ⁽⁸²⁾, and/

81. Cf. below, p. 301.

82. Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 160.

and was parson there by 1550. He does not appear to have conformed until 1569, when he became a reader in his own parish, serving as such for three or four years. A different reader had served St. Madoes in 1567. By 1574 Balvaird was minister there, remaining as minister and parson until his death on 3 January, 1590/1.(83) Finally, sir William Scot, styled minister of Callander in 1563, and an earlier curate, served as reader at Callander and Leny from 1569.(84) By 1576 he was minister of Kilmahog and Callander, serving until 1601.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the service of this large group of readers. Only three of the thirty-two men who served held university degrees. Of these men, one, Mr. David Balvaird, went on to become a minister. Mr. Alexander Drysdale, although he may have served briefly as an exhorter, left the clergy altogether. Mr. John Hutsoun served only as reader at Glendevon, but he was deceased by 1572. This small percentage of men with degrees offers a marked contrast to the number of university educated men who served as ministers.

The vast bulk of readers served in the parishes where they had begun to work, and continued there for varying lengths of time. A few did move, but only rarely any distance from their original parish. Sir Thomas Scot moved from Trinity Gask to Findogask/

83. Edin. Test., 11 Jan., 1591/2.

84. Reg. Minr., fo. 33.

Findogask, William Heriot from Monzievaird to Strathardail, and sir Alexander Gaw from Muthill to other nearby parishes when he became a minister. Richard Differis may have moved from St. Madoes to Kinfauns, sir Alexander Christison left Strogeith but continued in the same area, and Dene William Stirling temporarily left the Port for Kippen. Only the moves by Scot and Heriot were early and significant. Consequently mobility is not a major consideration with the readers. Readers engaged in some multiple parish work: sir Alexander Balvaird at Logie and Clackmannan, Thomas Glass at Monzie and Moneydie, John Lennox at Exmagirdle, Dron, and Pottie, Dene William Stirling at Port and Aberfoyle (1571), sir Alexander Christison at Monzievaird, Strogeith and Crieff, Mr. Alexander Drysdale at Alva and Tilli-coultry, sir William Scot at Callander and Leny, John Wemyss at Abernethy and Abdie, and Richard Differis at St. Madoes and possibly Kinfauns. The constancy of service by readers gave a stability to the basic parish structure of the Reformed church in this diocese. The relatively static position of the readers also lends weight to the theory that they were nearly all local men.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Eight readers are known to have advanced. Two became exhorters: Thomas Glass and Mr. Alexander Drysdale. Of the six who became ministers, one, Dene William Stirling at the Port, appears to have held that distinction only briefly, while John Burdon at Balquhiddar was deposed in 1584 but may have been reinstated/

85. Further discussion of the local origin of the Reformed clergy of this diocese and their family ties will be found below, p. 323 et seq.

reinstated. Sir Alexander Gaw, sir William Scot at Callander, Mr. David Balvaird and Michael Lermouth all advanced to and continued in the ministry. Significantly, five of the eight men who advanced from the status of reader had served in the old church.

One way to appreciate the multiple parish work done by Protestant clergy is to look at 1567, the year the first consistent record of parish work appears. The record is not altogether complete nor satisfactory, but some idea of clergy distribution can be ascertained.⁽⁸⁶⁾ In 1567 there were nine ministers serving within the diocese of Dunblane. Abernethy had a minister in Patrick Galt. Abruthven, Auchterarder, and Dunning were covered by Mr. John Hammyll. Culross and Tulliallan were served by John Dykis. Patrick Wemyss was the minister with oversight of Dron and Exmagirdle. Mr. Robert Montgomery was at Dunblane. Fowlis-Wester and Kinkell may have been served by Mr. Thomas McGibbon. Mr. James Paton had oversight of Glendevon, and Robert Menteith was at Kilbride and Tillicoultry. Finally, Alexander Fergy was minister of Logie. Thus fifteen of the thirty-eight parishes had some service from a minister. It is possible that those or other men may have had oversight of some of the other parishes within the diocese.

At/

86. Appendix I is a survey of the parishes and provides a brief picture of parochial service in 1567.

At most of these parishes the ministers were assisted by readers. However, this does not appear to have been the case at Dunblane and possibly Glendevon. Culross was served by an exhorter, Dene Walter Millar, as well as minister, and Tulliallan may have been as well. The other parishes had readers who served as assistants to the ministers. John Wemyss at Abernethy, sir Thomas Dunning at Abruthven, sir David Murye at Auchterarder and sir John Gray at Dunning were such. John Lennox was the reader assisting at both Dron and Exmagirdle. At Logie the reader was sir Alexander Balvaird, at Kilbride it was Michael Lermouth, at Fowlis-Wester sir David Murray and at Kinkell Dene Alexander Murray. Mr. Alexander Drysdale was reader at Tillicoultry and also served at Alva outwith the diocese. Several parishes appear to have been served solely by readers, as Callander, Leny, Monzie, Tullibody, Tullibole and St. Madoes. In 1567 sir William Scot was reader at Callander and by 1569 and possibly by 1567 he was also reader at Leny, a geographically natural parish for him to serve conjointly. At Monzie James Scot was reader in 1567. Tullibody was served by sir Andrew Drysdale, while Tullibole was ~~not~~ served by its former curate, sir John Henderson. At St. Madoes the reader in 1567 was Richard Differis. When only a reader was serving, three of five may have had connections with the parish prior to 1560.

The/

The role of the exhorters was rather more extensive, and they were given added responsibilities. At Balquhiddar an exhorter had oversight while a reader served as well; John McCorquodale, a man with responsibilities outwith the diocese, was exhorter, and John Burdon was reader. The exhorter at Fossoway, Mr. Adam Marshall, had responsibility solely for that parish, as did John McCathren at Aberfoyle. Other parishes are more complicated. Sir Alexander Gaw may still have been an exhorter in 1566 (87), and as such served at Muthill and Strowan. He appears to have been the only Protestant cleric at Muthill. However, at Strowan James Murray served as reader. Another case where uncertainty of clerical rank is involved is with Dene William Melrose. He was a canon of Inchaffray who served as exhorter at Trinity Gask and Findogask in 1567, and possibly at Dupplin as well. Only at Findogask was a reader assisting, sir Thomas Scot. William Drummond served five parishes; Crieff outwith the diocese, and Comrie, Monzievaird, Strogeith, and Tullicheddill within. At Comrie sir Duncan Comrie served as reader, and at Monzievaird Alexander Christison held that position, while sir John Quhite was serving at Tullicheddill. At Strogeith there appears to have been no reader in 1567.

There/

There remain five parishes which may not have been served in any way by 1567. At Kilmadock Thomas Reddock does not appear until 1569. Similarly, sir Gilbert Galalie was reader at Kilmahug in 1569, but the situation in 1567 is unknown. Kincardine is even less certain. Dene David Hegy may have served here as an early reader, but none is recorded until 1574. A similar situation existed at the Port of Menteith, where the canon, Dene William Stirling, was serving by 1569. Stirling was as well serving at Kippen by 1574, but earlier records provide no evidence of service there in 1567.

To sum up, there were nine ministers serving, and among them they managed to oversee fifteen parishes of Dunblane diocese, as well as a number of parishes outside. There were seven exhorters, who managed to serve fifteen parishes within the diocese and several outside. There is an overlapping here, at Culross. There were also twenty readers serving in 1567, either as assistants to ministers or exhorters or as the sole cleric in a parish. Six parishes were in that year served only by a reader. There were thirty-six Protestant clergy engaged in parochial work in thirty-three of the thirty-eight parishes.

It has been observed that for Perthshire as a whole, only some £70 more was expended on stipends in 1569 than was expended as early as 1562. The rise was from £2,621/8/8 to £2,691/-16/11. In 1561 the amount had been considerably less, but was still/

still a sizeable £2,036/3/4. Thus from the beginning there appears to have been a sizeable group of Protestant clergy in Perthshire.(88) Assuming that this expenditure was representative of the various parts of Perthshire more or less equally, this early expansion by the Reformed church reinforces the assumption that many of the curates and priests who conformed did so quite early on. Unfortunately, as record evidence for the diocese does not appear in any quantity before 1567, many conformers cannot be established as reformed clerics before that date. It is true that in most cases no other reader or like cleric has been discovered in their parishes to indicate that these men were late conformers. It is more likely that they conformed early on, when the need of the new church was acute and the ecclesiastical changes occurring in the country would have made it relatively simple to change sides. Where evidence is available, it indicates that an early assumption of new church employment was often the case. For example, sir Duncan Comrie, sir William Scot at Callander, sir Alexander Gaw, sir Thomas Scot and Dene Patrick Galt all are found to have conformed soon after 1560.

The bulk of men with university degrees serving in the old church were parsons or other beneficed men, who had been drawn into work outwith the local parish. In the new church the/

88. Gordon Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, 87.

the majority of degreed men are found among the ministers, but, in contrast to the old church, their education was utilised to serve locally and oversee parochial development.

The identities of those readers who have been established as former Roman Catholic clergy lend an old church atmosphere to the parish organisation of the new church. The importance of this factor in the growing strength of the new church cannot be overlooked. Over 60% of the readers of the diocese had old church experience. If taken as a whole, out of the fifty-one men (89) who gave Reformed clerical service to the parishes of the diocese from 1560 to 1570, at least twenty-four had old church antecedents. Thus at least 47% were men who had conformed. At least four other men may well have been priests: John McCorquodale, Mr. Robert Pont, Thomas Redock and James Scot. If any of these were old church men, the percentage is near 50%. In this diocese, which was conservative in its old church diocesan hierarchy, the general trend found throughout the country of recruiting new clerics from the old church is confirmed.(90)

An impact must have been made on the parishioners of Dunblane diocese by the number of local unbeneficed priests who conformed. Over 30% of the parishes were served by readers who had been engaged in some form of unbeneficed parochial activity/

89. Dene John Ure is not included in this figure because of the uncertainty of his service in the diocese or which parish he may have served.

90. Gordon Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, 85.

activity before 1560. At some point during the decade twenty-seven of the thirty-eight parishes, that is, 71% were served by a minister, exhorter, or reader who had a previous old church connection. While several of the early ministers appear to have been moved into the diocese to provide parochial supervision, the readers, those clerics who must have had the closest contact with the parishioners, were local men. The new church in Dunblane diocese was not an outside organisation imposed upon the people, but grew out of the existing community, and to a great extent, out of the fabric of the old church. The form of worship changed, but the buildings where worship was attended remained the same. The functions of the clergy changed, but many local clergymen remained to perform new functions in the new faith. This continuity of place and personnel contributed to the growth and stability of the Reformation within Dunblane diocese.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF DUNBLANE DIOCESE

At the Reformation there were three major religious houses within Dunblane diocese: Culross, Inchmahome, Inchaffray. These three houses will be examined separately. Those canons and monks who served in the new church, as well as those who declined to serve, will be discussed, as will the general tenor of reforming influence within the houses. Finally, the commendators of the houses and their influence on the men and the institutions will be examined. The careers of these commendators and their potential for religious influence at the Reformation provide some insight into the progress of reforming ideas within the diocese.

The priory of Culross was a Cistercian house founded in 1217 and located in the detached portion of Dunblane diocese on the Firth of Forth. It was a small house, the daughter-house of the monastery of Kinloss. The mother-house retained an interest in and some control over Culross into the sixteenth century, for the abbot of Kinloss's signature is frequently appended to Culross charters of that period.(1) In the early days of the Cistercian order monks had been forbidden to engage in parish work. However, with the passage of time and the rise of new circumstances, the monks began to engage in local pastoral duties/

1. Easson, Religious Houses, 63; RMS, iii. 1923; Laing Charters, 442.

duties. By the sixteenth century it was not uncommon for the brothers to be serving the cure in areas surrounding their houses. In Scotland the parish within which the monastery lay was regularly served by the monks.(2)

The estimated income of Culross in 1561 was £1600.(3) By comparison, the mother-house of Kinloss had an income of £3480.(4) In terms of appropriated parishes Culross was really quite small, having only three such parishes: Culross and Tullibole in Dunblane diocese, and Crombie in the diocese of Dunkeld. The parish of Torryburn in St. Andrews diocese also appears to have had some financial connection with Culross, but the exact relationship is uncertain.(5) The cure of the parish of Culross was served by one of the monks, for example, Dene John Kynpont was curate in 1545 and Dene Robert Holkat was curate in 1546.(6) On the other hand, at Tullibole, where the parsonage and vicarage were appropriated to the abbey, a curate was hired to perform the parochial duties at this nearby parish.(7) The service of the cure at Crombie is uncertain, but may have involved a monk, for a monk of Culross became Protestant minister here after 1560.(8)

The monks of the convent can be identified fairly easily from/

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2. New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 3, p. 887; LB. Cowan, "Religious and the cure of Souls", SCHS, xiv. 225.
 3. Easson, op. cit., 63.
 4. Ibid., 65.
 5. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 199.
 6. Dunb. Tests., i. fos. 136b, 153.
 7. Documentation for Dunblane parishes and clergy not included in the text may be found in appendices I and II.
 8. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 39-40; This monk was Dene John Hutchison, who is discussed below. Cf. appendix III.

from 1525 on, when there were fifteen monks at Culross. This number varied only slightly on through the 1540s. For example, in 1535 three of the members of a decade earlier had disappeared, but the other twelve remained. By this date it would appear that the three monks missing were deceased but not yet replaced.(9) On 20 February, 1539/40, the list of members of the priory reached a height of sixteen. New recruits were Denes Robert Holkat, Archibald Primrose, Alexander Beverage and John Westwater. These four names were the last signatures on a charter granted by the abbot and convent of Culross, indicating apparently their recent recruitment.(10) The number of members signing documents during the 1540s does not vary much. However, sometimes a particular member's name fails to appear one time but reappears at a later date. This was the case with Dene Michael Donaldson, a monk since at least 1525, who did not sign a document of 7 May, 1540.(11) He was not therefore deceased, for his signature appears in 1541 and 1545/6.(12)

During the 1540s the number of monks appears to have been around thirteen. This drop to thirteen from the peak of sixteen seems to have been the result of the deaths of Dene Andrew Christal, John Ewynson and Alexander Halkerston, who do not appear/

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- 9. Laing Charters, 350, 399.
 - 10. Ibid., 442.
 - 11. Cal. Charters, 1238.
 - 12. Laing Charters, 456, 507.

appear in 1541 or 1545/6.(13) Of the fifteen members of the convent in 1525, eight were still members in 1545.(14) During the 1530s and 1540s the number of monks at Culross remained at a fairly high level. If the number of monks at a monastery gives an indication of its relative strength, then Culross can be considered a reasonably strong house through this period. In light of this, it may be important that from 1536 until 1554 there had been not only a commendator but an active abbot as well. Albeit the two were brothers, as the commendator was really basically involved in government activities, the presence of an active abbot must have been beneficial to the house.

As fewer Culross charters have been located for the 1550s, not much detailed information is available about the monks during this later period. They suffered a general decline in numbers, probably due to a variety of factors. As was the fate of monastic houses in the sixteenth century, decline in recruitment accompanied the growth of the secular clergy in collegiate churches. Also, as Protestant sentiment was rising in the country, the monasteries were not particularly adept weapons against the new heresy, and their general usefulness must have been questioned. At Culross, with the decease of the abbot, the convent was governed solely by the commendator, whose interests were/

13. Ibid., loc. cit. ; Cal. Charters, 1238.

14. Laing Charters, 350, 507.

were often outwith the religious house itself. By 1561 there were only nine members of the convent.(15) At the Reformation the following men were monks at Culross: Denes Robert Christison, George Patterson, Robert Dewquhir, Robert Holkat, Archibald Primrose, John Westwater, John Huchone (Hutchison), Walter Millar and Andrew Turnbull.(16) It is worth noting the varying lengths of time these men had been monks. Denes Robert Christison, George Patterson and Robert Dewquhir had been monks since at least 1525, thus members of the convent for over forty years. Probably in the late 1530s, during the tenure of abbot John Colville, five new recruits had become members. Of these five, four were still monks in 1561; Denes Robert Holkat, Archibald Primrose, John Westwater and Andrew Turnbull.(17) These four men had been monks for over twenty years at the time of Reformation. These men and their service to the monastery illustrates the drop in recruitment in later years and the generally advanced ages of the monks. There were two late recruits, although the dates of their entry into Culross are unknown. They were Denes Walter Millar and John Hutchison, and they must have been the youngest monks at Culross. They probably joined the convent after 1552, for in that year there appear to have been only eight monks/

15. BA, fo. 283.

16. Cal. Charters, 187b, 1951.

17. Laing Charters, 350, 507.

monks. One of these eight, Beverage, appears to have died by 1560, leaving the seven monks of 1552 plus the two recruits.(18)

The continuity of surnames of the monks at Culross during the pre-Reformation era is interesting. For example, in 1525 there were two monks named Christison: John and Robert. John continued as a monk until at least 1545/6 and presumably died before the Reformation (19), while Robert was still a member of the convent as late as 1577/8.(20) Robert Christison had thus been a monk for over fifty years. Christison was a common name within the diocese. For example, sir Alexander Christison was reader at Strowan and Monzievaird. The two Christisons at Culross were local men and possibly even related, for it is definite that Dene Robert was the brother of another Dunblane diocese clergyman, sir Thomas Christison. Sir Thomas began his clerical career as a chaplain at Culross and went on to become vicar of Monzievaird and parson and vicar of Yetholm.(21) Dene John Kynpont must also have been a local man, as the Kynponts, or Ponts, held land in the area of Culross. He may have been related to the family of Mr. Robert Pont the Reformer, who was also from the Culross area.(22) Another surname which occurs more/

18. Cal. Charters, 1573.

19. Laing Charters, 350, 507.

20. Edin. Tests., 29 July, 1579, Testament of sir Thomas Christison; Christison died in 1583 or 4, for a gift of his portion of Culross on 23 Jan., 1590/1, included the fruits of his house and yard from 1584 to that date.(RSS, 61, fos. 128-128v)

21. Edin. Tests., loc. cit.

22. Please see previous chapter for a discussion of Mr. Robert Pont.

more than once at Culross is Turnbull, a not uncommon name to the area.(23) In 1525 Dene David Turnbull was a monk of Culross, while by 1539/40 he had been joined by Dene Andrew Turnbull.(24) Dene David continued as a monk until sometime after 1545/6, while Dene Andrew was still a member of the convent in 1569.(25) Another name common to the area was Beverage (Beverridge).(26) One of the monks who joined the convent by 1539/40, but who was deceased before 1560, was Dene Alexander Beverage. Another name of probable local origin was that of Westwater. Dene John Westwater was one of the recruits of the late 1530s who was still a monk in 1569.(27) There was also the surname of Primrose, common in nearby Dunfermline parish and quite common in Culross itself during the middle part of the sixteenth century. Various persons with that name had dealings with the convent and commendator(28), and in fact one Archibald Primrose was chamberlain of the abbey of Culross in 1561.(29) Dene Archibald Primrose was a monk of Culross from at least 1539/40 until as late as 1586.(30) Thus local origin for the monks seems to have been the rule.

The monks who conformed to serve as Protestant clergymen did so with varying success. The outstanding feature of the conformers is their age. Dene John Hutchison and Walter Millar conformed to serve; both of these men were probably younger and were/

23. George F. Black, Surnames of Scotland, 783.

24. Laing Charters, 350, 442.

25. Ibid., 507, 844.

26. Black, op. cit., 72.

27. Ibid., 809; Laing Charters, 844; Cal. Charters, 2139.

28. Laing Charters, passim; BA, fo. 283v.

29. Douglas Collection, vol. iii., no. 2.

30. Laing Charters, 442, 1154.

were certainly more recent recruits to the convent. Dene John Hutchison was serving as the minister of Crombie, Inverkeithing and Torryburn by 1567 and again in 1569.(31) He was still the minister of Crombie in 1571-1572.(32) He appears to have left off his clerical service at some point before 1574.(33) He may have lived on for some years, probably until 1584, for he was styled "umquhile" monk of Culross in 1585.(34) It is important that Crombie was one of the parishes appropriated to Culross, and Hutchison may conceivably have served the cure there prior to 1560. He must have been considered a capable man by the Reformers, for he was early on serving as a minister, not a particularly common feat for the religious of this diocese. He could no doubt be ranked as one of De Gouda's "apostate monks". Torryburn has already been noted as a parish which had some type of relationship with Culross, and the commendator of Culross was paying part of his stipend.(35) Dene Walter Millar's career has been traced earlier. His service was as an exhorter at Culross and Clackmannan and also for a time at Tulliallan. After being reduced to a reader by 1574, he apparently resigned, but continued to retain his monk's portion.(36)

Another monk of Culross has been considered a possible conforming/

31. Reg. Minr., 26.

32. TB, 251.

33. Wodrow Misc., 359-360.

34. Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 130; Cf. appendix III.

35. TB, 95.

36. Appendix II.

conforming clergyman; Dene Andrew Turnbull.(37) He had been a monk since at least 1540.(38) As a monk of long-standing, he would present a different and older type of conformer than Millar and Hutchison. There is a prima facie case based on his name that he could be the exhorter of Greenlaw parish in the Merse, St. Andrews diocese. This exhorter's service in the Protestant church must have begun soon after the Reformation, for he was definitely serving by 1561 and again in 1564.(39) Not only are the names the same, but both monk and exhorter disappear from record at roughly the same time. Dene Andrew Turnbull was recorded as a monk of Culross on 13 January, 1568/9, and on 16 June, 1569, but had disappeared from record by 1575.(40) Sir Andrew Turnbull was recorded as the deceased vicar of Greenlaw in 1573.(41) But upon closer inspection it becomes clear that these two were distinct individuals. It is evident from the Book of Assumptions that of the nine monks at Culross, four refused to accept the Protestant faith, although strong pressure had been applied. The commendator therefore refused to supply these monks with their yearly portions of £20 each.(42) On 10 May, 1563, the four monks who had been denied their portions took their case before the court of session. One of those monks was Dene/

37. C. Haws, "Scottish Religious Orders at the Reformation", SCHS, xvi., p. 205, footnote no. 8.

38. Cal. Charters, 1238.

39. TB, 152; Airlie Papers, 41/27.

40. Cal. Charters, 2139, 2353; Laing Charters, 844.

41. RSS, vi. 1937.

42. BA, fo. 283.

Dene Andrew Turnbull.(43) It is clear from the record of this case that the monks had all been indwellers of the monastery in 1561, and no mention of Turnbull as vicar of Greenlaw occurs. The fact that Dene Andrew Turnbull was an ardent Roman Catholic and was clearly a monk living at Culross indicates that he was not the man of the same name who served Greenlaw as an exhorter in 1561. This legal incident clarifies the Culross situation and demonstrates that of the nine monks at Culross in 1560, only two conformed to serve actively in the Protestant church.

This curious affair of the monk's portion sheds some light on the feelings of those members of the convent who were resident in 1560. The commendator states that of the nine monks at the priory, "five hes recantit and the other four wes requirit be me oft and diveris times. And in like maner wes requirit be the superintendent quha wald nocht recant". The four who refused to recant must have done so on genuinely religious grounds. Monetary and personal pressures, plus presumably altered religious perspective, prevailed with the majority. From the later court case it is known that the other three conservative monks were Dene Robert Dewquhir, Robert Holkat, and John Westwater. Dewquhir, a monk since at least 1525, remained faithful to his early convictions. The other three conservatives had been monks for more than twenty years.

It is not surprising that those who conformed to serve were the newer monks. The influence of the commendator would presumably be/

43. A & D, 26, fo. 382v.

be fairly strong on them. Perhaps of more importance, they were both young enough to serve as Protestant clergymen without such a major shift in their patterns of living. By serving they kept their portions and earned a stipend as well. Religious conviction must have played a part, possibly the most important part, in their conformity, but the factors of age and financial attraction must have been important as well. The three conformers who did not serve actively are less easily explained. Dene Archibald Primrose was a monk of over twenty years standing, while Denes George Patterson and Robert Christison had been at Culross since at least 1525. Their conformity may have been due chiefly to the threat of financial loss caused by the commendator's actions. Their long and possibly close personal relationship with the commendator, as well as pressure brought to bear by both commendator and superintendent, may have played a part. Genuine change in religious conviction cannot be overlooked, but is difficult to demonstrate. Their failure to serve in the Protestant church may be explained by age, lack of parish experience, and the security of monks' portions they already possessed.

One of the major factors in the conversion of the majority of the brothers at Culross was the person of the commendator. As has been demonstrated with Alexander Gordon at Tongland and Whithorn, the influence of a reforming commendator and bishop could have profound effect upon the religious over whom he exercised/

exercised control. At these Galloway institutions, however, there was established more of a tradition of parish service prior to 1560.(44) The commendator of Culross in 1560 was William Colville, a man of long and distinguished service to his country. Presumably, Colville's influence would not be exerted to the same extent as Gordon's, for Gordon was an active, participating Protestant clergyman, while Colville was a reformer, but with less extensive Protestant service. Colville was the illegitimate brother of James Colville of Easter Wemyss, with which family the commendator always had close contact. Through the good offices of James V, and doubtless of James Colville who was then comptroller, William Colville was appointed commendator in 1531.(45) Although he engaged in some ecclesiastical duties, as when he sat on the heresy trial of sir John Borthwick at St. Andrews in 1540 (46), he is better known because of his secular and political activities. He attended parliament in 1542/3 and the council in June 1543, where it was agreed to allow Queen Mary to go to England at the age of ten.(47) It was probably in November 1544 that Colville became a senator of the college of justice.(48) Of more significance, he became comptroller under Governor Arran in 1544/5.(49) By June 1545 he was/

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44. Gordon Donaldson, "Galloway Clergy at the Reformation", 46-47.
 45. David McRoberts, "Culross in the Diocese of Dunblane", SFDC, 1969, 96; Letters of James V, 190, 195-196.
 46. St. A.K.S.R., i. 91-92.
 47. APS, ii. 410, 424, 425; L & P, xviii(i), 671.
 48. Brunton and Haig, College, 79-80.
 49. Exch. Rolls, xviii. 66; ADCP, 540.

was sitting regularly on the privy council.

It is important to note that Colville's political rise closely paralleled the rise in Arran's control of the government. This factor in Colville's eventual siding with the reformers was of significance. Colville displayed no early overt Protestant sympathies, as demonstrated by his attendance at the trial of Borthwick, or at the council in January 1545/6, which witnessed Bothwell binding himself to deliver the Protestant preacher George Wishart to the governor.(50) His loyalty to the governor during the second half of the 1540s is unquestioned and was regularly rewarded by gifts of escheat from the crown.(51)

Ecclesiastical duties were not forgotten, and in November 1549 Colville sat on a reforming council. Many present at that council, including Colville himself, would later join the Reformation.(52) He also held several ecclesiastical benefices, such as the parsonage of Dysart in Fife, and in 1552 he was presented to the parsonage of Moffat in the diocese of Glasgow.(53) Colville, along with James Chisholm of Cromlix, had enjoyed part of the fruits of the abbey of Inchaffray. When that abbey was presented in commendam to Mr. Alexander Gordon, it was Mary of Guise who insisted that the grant entailed the entire fruits of Inchaffray/

50. RPC, i. 20; L & P, xxi(1), 88.

51. E.g., RSS, iii. 1828, 2278; TA, ix. 17 et passim.

52. Patrick, Statutes, 86-88.

53. RSS, iv. 1582.

Inchaffray, thus reducing Colville's income.(54) This move by Mary was to be the first in a series of acts by which, as she gained control of the government from Arran, Colville's place in the national life of Scotland was eroded. His losses at the hands of Mary of Guise may well have contributed to his eventual support of the Reformers against her government.

In February 1553/4 Colville was one of those who signed the discharge to Arran, approving his handling of the country's finances. In April Mary of Guise took office as regent, and Arran was granted a general approval, which Colville also signed.(55) When Mary of Guise took office, she brought with her a large French retinue, and many government posts fell to Frenchmen. Although Colville appears temporarily to have retained his position as comptroller, by April 1555 he was removed from the office and replaced by Bartholomew de Villemore.(56) The loss of this office entailed the loss of his seat on the council and was in fact virtually the end of his political power. The loss of the comptroller's office to a Frenchman must have affected Colville's outlook. He could hardly be expected to look with great favour on a French "invasion" so much to his personal cost. His past reveals a record of loyalty to a conservative government, and there is little or no indication of sympathy with Protestantism. Yet his own acceptance of the Reformation may/

54. ADCP, 618.

55. Ibid., 629; APS, ii. 602-604.

56. Exch. Rolls, xviii., preface, lxi.; Diurnal, 266; Lesley, History, 250; Knox, History, i. 140; TA, x. 246, 304; Cf. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 390v.

may well not have been a sudden decision in 1559 or 1560, for politically he had little to gain in supporting Mary of Guise, but possibly much by supporting Arran (now Chatelherault).

From the time Mary of Guise assumed power until the revolution of 1559, little is heard of Colville on the national political scene. The initial indication that he had begun to side with the Lords of the Congregation reveals a not surprising anti-French bias rather than religious sentiment, and doubtless not accidentally comes after Chatelherault's commitment to the Congregation. The first concrete display of the commendator's new loyalty was the listing of his name as one of those who had openly declared against the French in December 1559.(57) He continued on the reforming side, signing the ratification of the Treaty of Berwick on 10 May, 1560.(58) At least a portion of Colville's wider family supported the reforming cause zealously. His nephew, Robert Colville of Cleishe, ended his days fighting for the Protestants at the siege of Leith on 7 May, 1560.(59)

Certainly from 1560 the Colville commendators of Culross were committed to the Reformation on religious grounds as well as political. William Colville attended the Reformation Parliament of 1560 and was in fact a lord of the articles. He was a signatory to the letter pressing the suit of the young Arran on/

57. CSP, (Foreign), 1559-1560, 392(3).

58. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 786; CSP, (Foreign), 1560-1561, 70.

59. Knox, History, i. 181, 320.

on Elizabeth and was referred to by Knox as one of those who "had renounced Papistry and openly professed Jesus Christ with us".(60) That Colville espoused the Reformation and in fact did so with some zeal is not in doubt. In a charter of 11 November, 1560, Euphemia Dundas, sister of Archibald Dundas of Fingask, was called William's future wife.(61) Thus late in life and after the Reformation Colville married. That the marriage did in fact take place is proved by an entry in the "Acts and Decrees".(62) In January 1560/61 Colville signed the "Book of Discipline".(63) The thirds of the abbey of Culross were allowed to him for the "sustentation of the ministers of his kirks", which duty he appears to have taken seriously.(64) Colville used persuasion, ecclesiastical leverage, and financial pressure to encourage his convent to conform.(65) Although not entering the Protestant ministry, perhaps for reasons of age or inability, Colville gave active support to the new church. In the general assembly of June 1564, he, along with several others, was appointed to consider whether Mr. Andrew Simson should be moved from Dunning and Cargill to Dunbar. Thus his name can be linked with such well known reformers as Mr. Robert Pont, George Buchanan and Erskine of/

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60. APS, ii. 525, 606; Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 885; Diurnal, 61, 279; Knox, History, i. 335.
 61. RMS, iv. 1632(3).
 62. A & D, 45, fos. 158v-159.
 63. Knox, History, ii. 324.
 64. TB, 95; BA, fo. 283.
 65. BA, fo. 283.

of Dun.(66)

Colville's loyalty to the Reformation can also be witnessed in the testimony of others. A Jesuit newsletter from Scotland dated in roughly 1562 indicates accord with Knox's statement that Colville had publicly renounced the Catholic faith. It is said that the queen wished to deprive the abbot of his benefice "because of his extraordinary fanaticism".(67) It might be suspected that this extraordinary fanaticism referred to his strict financial censure of the unreformed monks of Culross. The Protestant stance of the majority of the monks of Culross, as well as the fact that at least two of them engaged actively in the Protestant ministry, demonstrate a marked accord with Reformation principles. While Colville's own adherence to the new faith may have been motivated initially by political factors, he encouraged his monks to assume a Protestant posture and the Reformed church thereby gained in concrete terms. The views of this commendator emerge as a key factor in interpreting the views of the monks of the house. As Quintin Kennedy exerted his conservative influence at Crossraguel, where all the monks adopted his conservative attitude (68), so Colville helped to swing the majority of monks of Culross to a reformed stance.

The Abbey was erected into a temporal lordship for James Colville/

66. BUK, 49.

67. Papal Neg., 94 and note, 98.

68. M. Sanderson, "Aspects of the Church in Scottish Society", SCHS, 1971, 94.

Colville of Easter Wemyss in 1589.(69) The lands of the abbey and the commendatorship itself had nearly passed from the hands of the Colvilles when William died. Eventually, however, in a curious series of events, the commenda went to William's nephew, Alexander Colville.(70)

The other two religious houses of the diocese were both of the Augustinian order. Inchmahome was a small priory located on an island in the Lake of Menteith, founded in the early thirteenth century by the Earl of Menteith. While service in a specific parish among Augustinian canons does not appear to have been the general rule, they did sometimes hold vicarages, almost always in parishes held by their house in appropriation. But the service of the cure was not always performed by the canon-vicar.(71)

Inchmahome had an estimated income of £1680 in 1561, minutely larger than that of Culross.(72) This similarity in size with Culross can also be seen in a variety of taxes placed on the church in the first half of the sixteenth century. For example, the tax of 1533/4 was £88/6/8 for Culross and £70/13/4 for Inchmahome. In 1545/6 a tax showed Culross paying £12, while Inchmahome owed £11/4.(73) On this basis the size of the two/

69. RMS, vi. 1675.

70. The gift of Culross to Alexander Colville is discussed in Appendix VII.

71. I.B. Cowan, "The Religious and the Cure of Souls", SCHS, xiv. 221.

72. Easson, op. cit., 76.

73. TA, vi. 147, 228; ADCP, 541.

two houses was similar. In terms of parish control, the source of considerable ecclesiastical wealth, Inchmahome had appropriated to itself some four parishes, a relatively small number, and one more than Culross. One parish, Lintrathen, was in the diocese of St. Andrews and located in Forfarshire, some distance from the priory. By contrast, the other three appropriated parishes were all within the diocese of Dunblane and fairly close to the house. They were Leny, Kilmadock, and the Port of Menteith. The pre-Reformation cure of souls at the appropriated parishes of Inchmahome by the canons of that house was not extensive. Lintrathen, the vicarage of which was held by sir James Archibald, the factor of Inchmahome, was probably served by an assistant curate. Archibald would have been too busy with financial and legal matters at the priory to have spent much time in pastoral duties at Lintrathen, although in 1560 he claimed that for many years he had "caused the common prayers and homilies" to be read weekly to the parishioners.(74) His general duties will be referred to below. Service by a canon should have been easier at those parishes closer to Inchmahome, but such service does not appear to have been the general policy. For example, at Kilmadock, adjacent to the Port of Menteith, the house appears merely to have drawn the revenues of the parish and taken little direct interest in the cure. In fact, the vicarage of Kilmadock was the/

74. HMC, ii. 187; Gordon Donaldson, The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, 6.

the prebend of the chancellor of Dunblane, Mr. James Kennedy. He himself took no apparent part in the cure of Kilmadock, but was responsible for the payment of a curate who fulfilled the necessary pastoral functions.(75) At this parish the canons simply were not involved, and the house acted essentially as a landlord.

A rather different situation existed at the parish of Leny. Here the house of Inchmahome had appropriated both parsonage and vicarage. The parsonage revenue belonged to the house, but the vicarage was held before 1560 by a canon of Inchmahome, Dene James Thompson. He seems to have been a resident vicar who took his duties seriously. Whether he was assisted by a curate of some type is uncertain, but if he was, that would be consistent with the situation of the other canon-vicars in the diocese. The fact that Thompson was not present at the signing of various monastic documents in the late 1540s and 1550s, during which time he was demonstrably acting as the vicar of Leny, probably indicates his presence in that parish much of the time.(76) The other parish appropriated to Inchmahome was that in which the house itself was located. The Port of Menteith remains something of an unknown quantity in regard to the service of the cure prior to 1560. Almost certainly it would have been served by one of the canons, a logical and simple arrangement. Of course, the canons/

75. Dunb. Test., i. fo. 123v; ii. fo. 13v.

76. Buchanan of Leny Writs, Box 3B/no. 3; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 204v.

canons may have hired some sort of chaplain to do the pastoral work.(77) A vicar mentioned in 1528, sir Thomas Youngman, may have been related to and possibly hired by Dene John Youngman, a canon of Inchmahome by at least 1526.(78) Aside from this early cryptic reference to a vicar, little is known about the cure of the Port in the sixteenth century. What is known is that the teinds of the Port were farmed to several parishioners who theoretically paid the priory the teinds. This income was constantly in dispute in the consistorial court of Dunblane diocese (79), and sir James Archibald was kept busy trying to recover these teinds from the parishioners.(80)

The number of canons at Inchmahome was probably slightly smaller in the early years of the sixteenth century than the number of monks at Culross. For example, in 1526 the names of eleven canons appear on a charter, including the prior of the house.(81) This number seems to have fallen off during the course of the century. As all the canons may not have been present at the signing of a specific document, there may be room for doubt, but in 1535 only nine canons appear.(82) During the intervening period the priory had passed in commendam to the family of Erskine, where it was to remain. By 1546 only eight signatures/

77. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 166.

78. RBM, ii. 331, 391.

79. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fos. 239, 319 et passim.

80. Ibid., i. fo. 69; ii, fo. 380v.

81. Cal. Charters, 985.

82. Airlie Papers, 47/1.

signatures appear on the roster of canons (83), although it is clear that at least one other canon, Dene James Thompson, was still a member.(84) Leny, where Thompson served as vicar, was removed from the area of Inchmahome, and his absence might therefore be expected. Eight canons, plus the absent Thompson, were still at the house in 1548.(85)

Perhaps because the Augustinians were not strictly cloistered, there is uncertainty about the exact number of canons at any given time. There would appear to have been little or no recruitment in progress during the 1540s. For example, if the absent Dene James Thompson is counted, eight of the nine members of the priory in 1548 had been members as early as 1526. A reduction had thus taken place. The former prior was deceased, and so apparently was another canon, Dene Duncan Pringle. Dene John Mont may have been replaced by Dene Thomas Mont.(86) Thus the priory of Inchmahome entered the Reformation period with what was essentially an older group of canons. Only six of the eight canons from 1526 may have been alive in 1555. Aside from the still absent vicar of Leny, there were only five canons recorded in that year; Denes James Bradfut, the subprior, Adam Pebles, Thomas McClellan, Adam Christison, and John Mont.(87) Whether this last canon was the same as the John Mont of 1526 is/

83. Ibid., loc. cit.

84. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 204v.

85. Cardross Writs, 201.

86. Cal. Charters, 985; Cardross Writs, 201.

87. Airlie Papers, 47/1.

is uncertain. If so, all of the known canons at Inchmahome in 1555 had lengthy careers behind them and must have been elderly. Some of these older canons may have been deceased by 1560, as Dene James Thompson. However, by 1560 there must have been four recruits to the priory; Denes John Baxter, William Stirling, Robert Short, and also Mr. Alexander Drysdale all appear at varying times after that date, but must have been recruited before then.(88) In 1560 the probable canons of Inchmahome were the following nine: Denes James Bradfut, Adam Pebles, Thomas McClellan, Adam Christison, John Mont, William Stirling, John Baxter, Robert Short and Mr. Alexander Drysdale.

Because of the advanced age of many of the canons, and because Inchmahome would appear to have had no recruitment during the 1540s such as that enjoyed by Culross, the older canons were not long to remain alive at the priory. For example, in 1562 the only canons listed were Denes James Bradfut, William Stirling and Thomas McClellan, two of whom were men of long-standing.(89) By 1573 Dene James Bradfut seems to have been the only survivor from among the older canons, when the signatures of Denes William Stirling and Robert Short are found on a precept of clare constat.(90) A decade later the names of Bradfut and Stirling appear again, this time in company with Dene John Baxter. As late/

88. Cardross Writs, 59; Airlie Papers, 48/50; Hutton Collection, vol. vii, fo. 110.

89. RBM, ii. 352.

90. Cardross Writs, 59.

late as 5 February, 1605, Denes William Stirling and John Baxter can still be identified as members of the Priory.(91)

The canons of Inchmahome seem to be men who came in the main from the area surrounding the priory. Of the men who were canons in the 1550s and after 1560, only a little information sheds light on their origin. Bradfut is a name from Ayrshire or Dumfriesshire and thus gives no clue about possible local origin.(92) Pebles would also appear to be a name from south of the diocese. McClellan is a Galloway name, but does appear in parts of Perthshire, notably Aberfeldy. It could therefore not have been uncommon around the area of Inchmahome.(93) Mont is an unknown quantity, but possibly a corruption of Monteith. There appear to have been two men with that surname at Inchmahome during the sixteenth century, Denes John and Thomas, who may have been relatives, indicating that portions might be considered the property of a family.(94) Christison is a name commonly found in Perthshire and noted already at the monastery of Culross. The later additions to the priory are more easily placed geographically. Short or Shortus can be located in Perthshire.(95) Stirling is a prominent local name in Monteith, and Baxters were common in Perthshire. It is not impossible that there was some relationship between Dene John Baxter and Alan/

91. Airlie Papers, 48/50.

92. Black, op. cit., 96.

93. Ibid., 470.

94. Cal. Charters, 985; Cardross Writs, 201, 56.

95. Black, op. cit., 724-725.

Alan Baxter, the early reader or minister of Inchmahome's appropriated parish of Leny. Finally, Drysdale was a name common in the Tillicoultry area where Mr. Alexander Drysdale served as a reader.

It is unfortunate that there is no record of persuasion or attempt to convert the canons of Inchmahome as exists for the monks of Culross. It is simply not known what the reaction of most of the canons was to the Reformation. What is known is that two of the probable nine canons did conform to serve as Protestant clergymen. As at Culross, it was the younger men who joined the reforming movement. The older canons presumably merely retained their portions and living quarters. Little incentive could have been offered for them to enter the clergy of the new church. The five older canons who were probably alive in 1560 would not likely have wished to join in the rigours of the reformed ministry, whatever their religious convictions. The simple fact of age would have been a major deterrent. The only ones of these older canons who seem to have lived through the Reformation period were Denes James Bradfut and Thomas McClellan.(96) Bradfut lived on at the priory until at least 1587.(97) The four most recent recruits were the only likely candidates for the Protestant clergy. Of these four, Baxter and Short do not appear to have conformed to serve. Sometime around/

96. Hutton Collection, vol. vii, fo. 113.

97. RBM, ii. 367.

around 1560 or shortly thereafter Mr. Alexander Drysdale, a servitor of the commendator, was presented to the vicarage of Leny. Drysdale held the benefice (98), but whether he was actually a canon is not altogether certain. However, he appears to have been listed as a member of the house in 1562/3.(99) Although Leny was a parish appropriated to Inchmahome, it is not impossible that Drysdale may have been vicar there by virtue of his connection with the commendator. This kind of situation prevailed at Lintrathen, where the vicar at the Reformation was sir James Archibald.(100) While he was vicar of that appropriated parish, he does not appear to have been a canon. Although details are scant, it is clear that in 1548 Archibald was acting as the factor for the commendator of Inchmahome.(101) He continued to act as factor and procurator for Inchmahome through much of the 1550s.(102)

While Drysdale continued to hold the vicarage of Leny, he took an active part in the Reformation church by serving as reader and possibly exhorter in the parish of Tillicoultry. Although his service in the Protestant church was ended by 1573, he remained vicar of Leny into the 1580s. By 1563 Drysdale married Elizabeth or Isobel Menteith. On 2 February, 1562/3/

98. Feu Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 129.

99. Hutton Collection, vol. vii., fo. 113.

100. RSS, iii. 2513; v. 1569; He was called late vicar in 1580; Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 44v.

101. Airlie Papers, 47/1.

102. Ibid.; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 313v.

1562/3, the vicar granted the glebe of Leny to his brother John, and John in turn granted the glebe to Elizabeth Menteith and her spouse, Mr. Alexander Drysdale.(103) His spouse was mentioned again in 1571.(104) Just when Drysdale came into possession of the benefice is unknown, but he was apparently mentioned without designation in a document drawn on behalf of John Buchanan of Arnprior at Stirling in 1560, indicating that Drysdale's connection with the Buchanans may have been of some duration.(105) The Buchanans of Leny themselves provided a reader for Leny by 1573 in the person of Solomon Buchanan.(106)

The other conforming canon of Inchmahome was Dene William Stirling, reader at the Port by 1569. His date of recruitment is uncertain, and it is not known whether he conformed to serve before 1569. He may have been serving earlier, drawing his portion and living at Inchmahome while serving the parish of the Port. His career has been traced in a previous chapter. Suffice to say here that he served in the Menteith area until at least 1589, apparently retired and continued at the priory until 1605. Thus of the four canons who were young enough to be candidates for the reformed ministry, two did participate as readers. Short and Baxter chose not to serve. Short was a canon until at least 1573, and Baxter until 1605.(107)

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- 103. Buchanan of Leny Writs, Box 3B/nos. 5 and 6.
 - 104. Cardross Writs, 129.
 - 105. Ibid., 69/6.
 - 106. Reg. Minr., 30.
 - 107. Cardross Writs, 59; Airlie Papers, 48/50.

The active contribution of Inchmahome to the Reformation was not large, although it was reasonable in light of the circumstances discussed above. The priory itself was in Protestant hands during the crucial early years of the 1560s. By 1560 the commendator was a young man of the Erskine family who was himself a committed Protestant. David Erskine was an illegitimate son of Robert, Master of Erskine, son of John, fifth Lord Erskine. In 1556 he received Inchmahome and Dryburgh in commendam.(108) There can be little doubt that David Erskine was dependent on his family, and particularly his uncle, John sixth Lord Erskine, for his success. Like other families in Dunblane diocese, he followed the lead of the head of his family in matters religious and political. Lord Erskine was one of the most respected men in the country during the era of Protestant revolution and Reformation. He maintained a neutral Edinburgh castle during the war, but joined the reformers after the final decision. Lord Erskine attended the August parliament of 1560, as did the commendator of Inchmahome.(109) Lord Erskine openly witnessed his acceptance of the Reformed faith at this time.(110) His failure to sign the "Book of Discipline" was a great disappointment to Knox, for he saw Erskine as the "chief great man that had professed Christ Jesus and refused to subscribe to the Book of Discipline"(111)

At/

108. Dryburgh Charters, p. xxv.; RBM, ii. 335 et seq.

109. APS, ii. 525.

110. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 886.

111. Knox, History, i. 344-345; ii. 324.

At the Reformation David Erskine was only a young man, probably in his early twenties. His personal relation to the canons of Inchmahome is really unknown, for most of the records available show him only as performing official duties.

Only with Mr. Alexander Drysdale is there a known personal relationship, and Drysdale conformed. David Erskine granted charters on monastic lands, mostly to members of the Erskine family and their associates.(112) He also fulfilled the required ecclesiastical duties associated with Inchmahome and Dryburgh, such as the presentation of sir William Ainslie to the vicarage of Maxton in 1561.(113) On 15 January, 1564/5, David Erskine was appointed archdeacon of Brechin by Mary Queen of Scots. Despite this increased income, he later had difficulty over the payment of the thirds of Inchmahome.(114)

It was in 1566/7 that Lord Erskine, now Earl of Mar, was released from his position as keeper of Edinburgh castle and placed in charge of the young Prince James. The political importance and material benefits accruing to the Erskine family from this tutelage of James became increasingly evident and were the basis of much of David Erskine's later power and influence. As a close member of the family, David Erskine was one/

112. E.g., RBM, ii. 349, 353; RSS, v. 2097.

113. Laing Charters, 727.

114. TB, 269, 285; Reg. Epis. Brech., 327; RSS, v. 1894.

one of the witnesses signing the "Inventory of Armaments" when the castle was rendered into the queen's hands.(115) Erskine's Protestantism is unquestioned. As he grew older and assumed a more active role in political and religious affairs, a firm Protestantism running to ultra-Protestantism is demonstrable. For example, on 22 August, 1582, he was among the Ruthven Raiders who removed the king to Ruthven castle, and he personally subscribed the band of the Raiders.(116) Although Erskine was not a member of the privy council during the tenure of the Ruthven Raiders, he was present on 19 October, 1582, when the raid was given an official stamp of approval.(117) During the radical Presbyterian period Erskine participated directly in the business of the Presbytery of Stirling on several occasions. He attended Presbytery meetings on 1 December, 1581, four months after Stirling Presbytery was instituted, and again on 12 February and 1 March, 1582/3.(118) Despite little active participation in the Ruthven Raid government, Erskine was culpable in the raid itself. Once the Arran-Stewart faction reinstated conservative leadership, Erskine may have had to flee the country, although he had technically received a remission for his part in the Raid on 23 November, 1583.(119) His final act of defiance was participation/

115. Peerage, v. 615; HMC, "Mar and Kellie", 16; HMC, 60, supplement, 26.

116. Calderwood, History, iii. 632, 644-645; History King James Sext, 181; Cal. Scot. Papers, vi. 178.

117. APS, iii. 326; RPC, iii. 518-519.

118. Stirling Presbytery Records, dates as given.

119. RSS, viii. 1595. Reference provided by Professor Donaldson.
(In the press)

cipation in the Raid of Stirling in April 1584.(120) In that month he was ordered to leave Scotland.(121) On 27 April the English had word that Erskine and other leaders of the raid had arrived in England asking to be received, and in August he was forfeited in parliament.(122) Both Inchmahome and Dryburgh were taken from him. In exile at Berwick he appears to have come into contact with Mr. James Melville, the ultra-Protestant preacher.(123) However, later in 1584 Erskine returned to Scotland and was reinstated in his old possessions and titles.(124)

Although most of Erskine's known political and religious activities came some time after 1560, they illustrate his own religious convictions and involvements. Thus Inchmahome, like Culross, was from the early days of the Reformation under the influence of a commendator dedicated to the success of the new church. Of the four canons in a reasonable position to participate actively in the clergy of the Protestant church, two did become readers, probably influenced by the attitude of the commendator. The priory of Inchmahome, along with the abbeys of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, was erected into a temporal lordship in 1604 and 1609 for John, second Earl of Mar. However, David Erskine retained the rents, endowments and profits of his holdings until his death in 1611.(125)

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120. RPC, iii. 657; Calderwood, History, iv. 32.
 121. Calderwood, History, iv. 421; Cal. Scot. Papers, vii. 55.
 122. APS, iii. 332, 335-344; RSS, viii. 2033; Cal. Border Papers, i. 218, 27 April, 1584.
 123. Calderwood, History, iv. 218; Diary of James Melville, 134.
 124. APS, iii. 383.
 125. Ibid., iv. 343-349.

The most important religious house in the diocese of Dunblane was the Augustinian house of Inchaffray, founded in the late twelfth century. This house ranked as an abbey and was involved with a large number of parishes through appropriation. The abbey had a rather peculiar relationship to the diocese of Dunblane. The ruins of Inchaffray today stand in Madderty parish within the diocese of Dunkeld, but in origin the abbey, standing in swampy grounds in Strathearn, appears to have spanned the boundary between Fowlis-Wester and Madderty parishes. Early on, in approximately 1198, Inchaffray was said to be in Fowlis or the "shire" of Fowlis.(126) The house itself and the largest portion of appropriated parishes were in the diocese of Dunblane.(127) In fact in the thirteenth century the episcopal see of Dunblane came close to being transferred to Inchaffray. If that move had taken place, the canons of the abbey would have constituted the cathedral chapter.(128) In the sixteenth century Inchaffray was generally referred to as in the diocese of Dunblane, but on occasion as in Dunblane and Dunkeld.(129)

The apparent income of Inchaffray in 1561 does not perhaps reflect its importance in the diocese. It was only £667 (130), well below that of either Culross or Inchmahome. However, this income is based on the tack of Inchaffray made to Lord Drummond in/

126. Inchaffray Charters, nos. iiii, xxxvii, and p. 317.

127. Ibid., Intro. xxxi.

128. Ibid., Intro. xxxv-xxxvi.

129. E.g., RSS, v. 2211; Inchaffray Charters, 161.

130. Basson, op. cit., 75.

in 1560.(131) The actual income of the house from appropriations, rents and other means is unknown. It can be assumed that Drummond's income from the abbey lands was well above that amount paid yearly for the tack. The tack itself speaks of the difficulty experienced in attempting to collect the profits and duties of the abbey: "in thir rebellious dayis throw laik of justice and persecutioun of the spiritualitie and spoilzeing of thair landis and fructis the samin culd nocht be obtenit".(132) Drummond may have experienced difficulty collecting all the profits of the house, but if collected, they may have amounted to considerably more than the £667. A further indication of Inchaffray's potential wealth is given by taxation figures referred to above. In 1533/4, while the taxation on Culross was £88/6/8 and on Inchmahome £70/13/4, it was £132/10 on Inchaffray.(133) A later tax for the college of justice indicates that Culross owed £12, Inchmahome £11/4, and Inchaffray £21. In terms of appropriated parishes, Inchaffray is particularly impressive, for it possessed fifteen parishes compared to three at Culross and four at Inchmahome.(134) Ten of Inchaffray's appropriated parishes were within Dunblane diocese. Thus in terms of parish influence and control, Inchaffray was significant, and the abbey becomes important to any understanding of the/

131. Inchaffray Charters, 165 et seq.

132. Ibid., 166.

133. TA, vi. 146-147, 228.

134. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 219.

the parochial situation in Dunblane diocese at the Reformation.

The cure of these individual parishes sheds some light on the degree of parochial involvement by the canons on Inchaffray prior to 1560. Outwith the diocese, Balfroun, in the diocese of Glasgow, was supposed to be served by a canon or chaplain.(135) Being at some distance from the abbey, it is unlikely that a canon served here. At Inishail in Argyll, where the abbey possessed the parsonage, there was a vicar perpetual. The cure was served by a hired curate, Mr. William Ramsey. Ramsey conformed and by 1561 was serving as the minister of Kenmore.(136) At the parish of Killin in Dunkeld diocese the revenues of the parsonage were used to support Inchaffray's small daughter-house of Strathfillan. A canon may have served at Killin as a vicar portioner, assisted by a curate.(137) At Kilmorich in Argyll the revenues of the parish went to Inchaffray, a vicar pensioner was apparently provided, and no canon seems to have served here. At Madderty in Dunkeld, however, a canon or chaplain may have served the cure.(138)

This study is concentrated on those parishes located within the diocese of Dunblane. At parishes removed by distance from the abbey, no canon seems to have been involved in the cure. At Abruthven, where the cure was theoretically served by a vicar perpetual/

135. Ibid., 12.

136. W. Gillies, In Famed Breadalbane, 261.

137. Cowan, Medieval Parishes, 102; GUA, Resignationes, 1556-1559, fo. 181, 27 June, 1556.

138. Cowan, op. cit., 142.

perpetual, this vicarage was not held by a canon. At the Reformation the vicar was the pluralist Mr. Robert Herbertson from Glasgow,(139) and the cure had passed to a hired curate. Inchaffray's clerical influence within the parish was thus virtually non-existent. Not unlike Abruthven was Auchterarder, where the abbey held the parsonage in appropriation, but the vicarage teinds, common to Dunblane cathedral, were in tack to a priest in 1560. This priest probably served the cure himself, and the abbey would appear to have had slight influence in the parish. At Dunning Inchaffray held both the parsonage and vicarage. Here there was a vicar pensioner who at the Reformation was the pluralist sir John Hammyll. Neither the canons of Inchaffray nor the pensioner appear to have done the parochial work, for the cure was served by a chaplain. The chaplain serving this cure seems to have changed frequently.(140) The parish of Kilbride was farther removed from the abbey than those above, and no active parochial participation by the canons has been discovered. All the teinds were appropriated to the abbey, and a hired curate was serving in the parish.(141) At Monzievaird, appropriated in both parsonage and vicarage, the canons do not seem to have given any service to the cure. However, /

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139. Details of personnel and parochial service in these parishes will be found in appendices I & II and chapter V.
 140. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 110; Dunb. Tests., i. fos. 108v, 128; TB, 251.
 141. Dunb. Tests., i. fos. 33, 147.

However, in 1560 the vicarage of Monzievaird, or a pension of twenty merks, was to be given to one of the canons of Inchaffray.(142) A vicarage pensionary had been provided, but by the mid-sixteenth century the pensioner was not serving and had made provision for the cure.(143) At Strowan, adjacent to Monzievaird, the clerical situation was nearly identical. The vicar pensioner was Mr. James Chisholm, a canon of the cathedral, and the curate in 1560 was Mr. Patrick Roger. The curate seems to have had no connection with the abbey, and again the canons were simply not involved. At Tullicheddill both parsonage and vicarage were appropriated to Inchaffray, and the cure was served in 1560 by a curate having no other connection with the abbey.

Inchaffray was located in Fowlis-Wester parish, and here there was participation by the canons. Both parsonage and part of the vicarage pertained to the abbey, while a vicar portioner served the cure. At least part of the time this vicarage was held by a canon of Inchaffray. In 1553/4, however, it was held by Mr. George Ruthven.(144) By 1558/9 Dene Patrick Murray held the vicarage and continued to do so into at least the early 1560s.(145) Sometime after 1561, but before 1584, another canon, Dene William Ruthven, was presented to the vicarage/

142. Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcv.

143. RMS, iv. 2061.

144. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 349v.

145. Lib. Ins. Miss., 121-122; BA, fo. 315v.

vicarage. There was a curate at the parish as well, probably serving as an assistant to the vicar.(146) The vicar probably participated actively in the parish. At Trinity Gask there was another of the canon-vicars. From at least 1551 until 1572 he was Dene William Oliphant. Although he participated actively in parish life, he had a hired curate to assist him. Upon Oliphant's decease, another canon, Dene William Melrose, was presented to this vicarage. At the parish of Kinkell, adjacent to Trinity Gask, the parsonage pertained to the abbey, while the vicarage was apparently held by one of the canons. No canon-vicar has been located near 1560, but before 1587 Dene George Spens was vicar there, and he may have served for many years before. There was also a curate assisting here, as in 1544/5 and 1553/4 (147), although he has not been identified.

At Culross and Inchmahome there were so few appropriated parishes that general principles of parochial service by the religious are difficult to assess. As there were ten parishes within Dunblane diocese where the major teinds were appropriated to Inchaffray, something of a pattern of parochial service can be observed. At only three of these parishes did the canons participate actively in the cure of souls. These three parishes were located beside or quite near the abbey itself. At Kinkell, although the canon-vicar Dene George Spens has not been located as/

146. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 146v.

147. Ibid., ii. fo. 336; Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 62.

as vicar before his decease in 1587 (148), he may have held that vicarage for many years, and evidently a canon was giving service to the parish prior to 1560. Trinity Gask was served for over twenty years by Dene William Oliphant. He held the benefice throughout the Reformation era and was actively involved in the cure prior to 1560. At Fowlis-Wester Dene Patrick Murray was serving as vicar at the Reformation and was succeeded by another canon, Dene William Ruthven. These three Dunblane parishes with canon-vicars have common characteristics. Beside being reasonably close to the abbey, and although the canon-vicars may have participated in the cure of their parishes, the responsibility of the parish work was shared by curates in each case. At Kinkell the curate's name is unknown, while at Trinity Gask his name emerges in 1564 as sir Thomas Scot. At Fowlis-Wester the curate was sir David Murray. It would not be surprising if the hired curates carried the major burden of the parish work. Each would be paid with a stipend, and possibly allotted the kirkland around the church. That was the arrangement for sir Thomas Scot.(149)

The remaining seven parishes provide examples of how the parish teinds must have been strained to provide a minimal amount for the actual cure of souls. At Auchterarder the vicarage/

148. RSS, 57, fos. 71v, 81.

149. A & D, 32, fo. 404.

vicarage was in tack to a priest who probably served the cure. At Abruthven there was a vicar, but the parish work was actually done by a curate. At Dunning, Monzievaird, and Strowan a vicar pensioner was provided, but again a hired curate served the cure. At Kilbride and Tullicheddill the canons evidently paid curates to do the parish work. These parishes illustrate the separation of parish income and actual parochial responsibility that ultimately proved so harmful to the old church in Scotland.

What about the canons themselves? The exact number at Inchaffray at any specific time in the sixteenth century is uncertain. In 1510 there were at least fifteen canons.(150) There may have been slightly fewer as the century went on. For example, in 1544/5 twelve canons signed a charter issued by the commendator of Inchaffray. During this thirty-four year interim nearly all the canons had died and newer men had taken their places. There was only one of those earlier canons who continued at the abbey during this long period. He was the sub-prior, that is the canon acting as the prior in residence; Inchaffray was held in commendam.(151) Dene John Maneris, the sub-prior mentioned, served as such for many years. In 1553 he was styled prior.(152) There were were still twelve canons listed in 1553. While Inchaffray no/

150. Oliphants in Scotland, no. 50.

151. Ibid., nos. 50, 70.

152. Tods, Murray and Jamieson, 64.

no doubt suffered from the general decline in interest in religious houses during the sixteenth century, a fairly high and constant number of canons seems to have been kept. There seems to have been sufficient recruiting to replace deceased canons. At least one half of the canons in Inchaffray in 1553 had been canons eight years earlier, and Maneris for over forty years. Thus besides Maneris, Denes James Gardinar, Thomas Gardinar, Robert Car, William Kelt, John Rauff, and Andrew Farmer were all men with some length of service at the abbey.(153) It should also be noted that although twelve men signed the document of 1553, there were other members of the house. For example, Dene Thomas Oliphant was not listed in 1553, but was a canon and vicar of Trinity Gask from at least 1551. He could easily have been engaged in pastoral duties at the signing of the charter. It also seems likely that Dene Patrick Murray, later the vicar of Fowlis-Wester, was a canon at this time. He was certainly a canon three years later.(154) Dene George Spens was also a canon at this time, and he too may have been absent on parish duties. William Kelt was also probably still a canon. It can thus be safely asserted that there were over twelve canons of Inchaffray in the mid-fifties, probably between thirteen and fifteen.

For a variety of reasons, some canons appear as signatories/

153. Ibid., loc. cit.

154. GUA, Resignationes, 1556-1559, fo. 181, 27 June, 1556.

tories on certain documents but fail to appear on others. In 1555 there were only twelve signatories to an Inchaffray charter, but there were certainly more canons.(155) In 1557/8 another charter has twelve signatories. Spens and Patrick Murray both signed this charter, but William Oliphant's name is still missing. The others who signed were: Denes Alexander Wycht, William Melrose, Alexander Murray, William Ruthven, Robert Car, John Maneris, Paul Cunningham, Andrew Farmer, James Gardinar and Thomas Gardinar.(156) In 1558/9 there were only nine canons who signed a charter.(157) However, there were more than nine canons of Inchaffray. Dene John Maneris was apparently dead, but several known canons also failed to sign: Denes William Oliphant, Patrick Murray, and George Spens. The regular absence of these men may be explained by the fact that each was a canon-vicar.

From the various Inchaffray charters mentioned above, the following canons can be identified on the eve of the Reformation: Denes Thomas Gardinar, now the prior, James Rannaldson, Robert Car, William Kelt, John Rauff, Paul Cunningham, William Melrose, William Ruthven, Alexander Murray, Andrew Farmer, William Oliphant, Patrick Murray, and George Spens. These thirteen men were certainly canons, but there may have been more. Since 1544/5/

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155. Drummond Castle Papers, Auchterarder Writs, Bundle 2/no.5.
 156. Tods, Murray, and Jamieson, 55.
 157. Lib. Ins. Miss., 122.

1544/5 some five of the known canons had apparently died. However, at least eight of the canons at the Reformation had been members of the house for over fifteen years, perhaps considerably longer. For example, Rannaldson had been a canon since at least 1521, as had Kelt.(158) Several documents of 1564 demonstrate that the canons at the Reformation were all still alive.(159) In 1579 Alexander Murray, William Ruthven, Paul Cunningham, George Spens, and Patrick Murray were all still alive and receiving their portions from Inchaffray.(160)

The surnames of the canons of Inchaffray show an interesting consistency of local origin. The resident prior at the Reformation was Dene Thomas Gardinar. That surname was not uncommon to the area, and during the course of the sixteenth century there were at least three other canons named Gardinar: Denes John, William, and James.(161) Here, as at Inchmahome, it appears that a local family might look on a portion as its due. Car, generally a border name, was not without representation in central Scotland.(162) John Rauff was probably a local man.(163) Ruthven and Murray were local Perthshire names prominent in the Inchaffray area, as was Oliphant. The family of Murray provided at least two mid-sixteenth century canons to/

158. Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcvi.

159. Cal. Charters, 1944; Morton Papers, no. 1757; Tods, Murray and Jamieson, 55; RMS, v. 174.

160. Inchaffray Charters, Intro., c.

161. Oliphants in Scotland, no. 50; Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcvi; Black, op. cit., 288.

162. Black, op. cit., 137.

163. Black, op. cit., 701.

to the abbey. Spens is also a common name in Perthshire.(164) With prominent local names such as Murray, Ruthven and Oliphant, and with the recurring name of Gardinar, it would seem that Inchaffray, like the other religious houses of the diocese, drew its canons from nearby families.

Of the thirteen known canons of Inchaffray in 1560, who conformed to serve as Protestant clergy? There were a total of four active conformers, or 30% of the known canons. These men were in the main drawn from the more recent recruits to the abbey. This conforming of younger men follows the same pattern visible at Culross and Inchmahome. However, the canons of Inchaffray who conformed were not such recent recruits as those at the other houses. The conformers were Denes Alexander Murray, William Melrose, William Ruthven, and George Spens. In 1553 all of these men appeared as signatories at Inchaffray except Spens (165), and his name appears the following year.(166) In fact Spens can be traced as a canon of Inchaffray back as far as 1545.(167) Thus three of those canons who became Protestant clergy had been at Inchaffray for at least seven years and possibly longer. One had a history as a canon of the abbey dating back a minimum of fifteen years.

The contributions made to the new church by those who conformed/

164. Ibid., 741.

165. Tods, Murray and Jamieson, 64.

166. Ibid., 55.

167. RSS, iii. 1130.

formed varied considerably. Dene George Spens appears not to have conformed until 1574, when he was definitely the reader of Madderty. In 1567 there was an exhorter at Madderty, John Hume, but Spens is not mentioned.(168) No reader has been located there before Spens. He served as reader there until about 1586; he was deceased by 1588. While Spens engaged in Protestant parish work outwith Dunblane diocese, the other three conforming canons served within the diocese. Dene William Ruthven was also late in serving. He can definitely be established as reader at Trinity Gask in 1574. His work as reader there presumably began in 1572, when he was presented to the vicarage of Trinity Gask on the decease of Dene William Oliphant. Ruthven continued to serve as reader until about 1586. One other canon gave lengthy service as a reader. Dene Alexander Murray probably conformed quite early on and was definitely the reader at Kinkell by 1567, continuing there until at least 1585. Although his active service ceased soon after that date, he lived on at the abbey until 1607.(169) Only one Inchaffray canon rose to the status of minister; Dene William Melrose, whose ecclesiastical career has been traced elsewhere. It remains only to say that he probably conformed quite early on, was an exhorter in 1567, and later became a minister, serving at Findogask, Trinity Gask, Fowlis-Wester, and Madderty.

It/

168. Reg. Minr., 29; TB, 252.

169. Lib. Ins. Miss., 136.

It should be noted that all of the canons who conformed served at parishes appropriated to the abbey. Melrose, who served multiple parishes, had at times Findogask and Dupplin under his care, but basically served the familiar appropriated parishes. If it is assumed that Dene George Spens was canon-vicar of Kinkell in 1560, he is the only canon-vicar to have conformed, and even he conformed late. The other two canon-vicars did not chose to serve as Protestants. Dene Patrick Murray at Fowlis-Wester is not known to have served, and another reader can be located there by 1567. Murray may have held this vicarage for some years, and he definitely retained his monks portion until his death around 1580.(170) Dene William Oliphant, who did not conform, was deceased by 1572.

More to the point as far as the reformed church was concerned was the actual service of these appropriated parishes in the new church. Of the ten Dunblane parishes appropriated to Inchaffray, all but Auchterarder appear to have been served or assisted by a hired curate. At three of the parishes the name of the curate is unknown. Of the other six curates known to have served prior to the Reformation, five conformed to serve as readers. They were sir Thomas Dunning at Abruthven, sir John Gray at Dunning, sir David Murray at Fowlis-Wester, sir Thomas Scot at Trinity Gask and sir John Quhite at Tullicheddill. Inchaffray/

170. RSS, 61, fo. 87.

Inchaffray thus made an important contribution to the Reformed clergy in this indirect way. However, possibly only Scot, Quhite, and Murray were hired directly by the abbey or a canon of the abbey.

There were doubtless a variety of factors that led 30% of the canons of Inchaffray into the Protestant clergy. The persuasion of the other canons is unknown. Perhaps some of them espoused the new faith but failed to take up active service, as with the monks of Culross. While the commendators of Culross and Inchmahome were both basically local men, at Inchaffray the commendator from 1551 was Mr. Alexander Gordon, a man with wider ecclesiastical interests. Gordon has not always received the kindest of commendations from either contemporaries or historians. His career is enigmatic and confusing; full of frustration in ecclesiastical preferment. The comment that his career "is regarded with contempt by both Catholics and Protestants"(171) is unwarranted in the light of later research. Despite such comments based on his varied ecclesiastical life and his dilapidation of much of the lands of Inchaffray, it has been noted that at the time of his decease, his "goods and gear" amounted to less than that possessed by Knox. If self-aggrandisement had been his major goal in life, he was singularly unsuccessful.(172)

Gordon's/

171. Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xci.

172. Gordon Donaldson, "Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway", Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway, 3rd series, xxiv, p. 128.

Gordon's ecclesiastical career has been traced elsewhere.(173) His ecclesiastical disappointments at Caithness, Glasgow, and even Galloway are pertinent to a study of the man and his ideas. However, what is under consideration here is his contact with and influence at Inchaffray. When he became commendator, Gordon seems to have had the help of Mary of Guise, and in fact had arranged for "the place of the abbey" to be assigned to her.(174) This commenda was probably part compensation for his failure to be confirmed as Archbishop of Glasgow. Being a Gordon of the Huntly Gordons, he was on the conservative side of Scottish politics in his early years. He may in the 1530s have attended Aberdeen University and then Paris .(175) That he was not unaquainted with France in the 1550s is demonstrated by a passport request that he might travel through England on his way to and from France in 1554.(176) His loyalty to Mary of Guise can be observed in various letters to her written during the mid-sixteenth century.(177) Gordon's eventual change of loyalty may not have come suddenly. The French "invasion" of civil servants after Mary of Guise's official reception of the regency cost many Scots their government positions. Such a loss was sustained by the fourth Earl Huntly, who was deprived of/

173. Inchaffray Charters, Intro. xc et seq.; Gordon Donaldson, op.cit., 111-128; Anthony Ross, "More About the Archbishop of Athens", Innes Review, no. 14, 30-37.

174. ADCP, 618.

175. Anthony Ross, op. cit., 31.

176. Cal. Scot. Papers, 1. 409.

177. Scottish Correspondence, 269, 286, et passim.

of the chancellorship, the earldom of Moray, and generally lost favour with Mary of Guise.(178) If this situation was a factor in Alexander Gordon's eventual turn to the English supported Protestants, his experience was not unlike that of the commendator of Culross.

Like the bulk of church property in the middle of the sixteenth century, the lands of Inchaffray were gradually put in feu. Gordon has been called the principal actor in the ruin of the abbey.(179) Sufficient evidence exists to demonstrate the depth of this alienation of property.(180) Gordon was attempting to raise money not only for self-enrichment, but because he had considerable debts to pay, as evidenced by a letter to Mary of Guise in 1554, in which he is said to owe 4000 merks to the queen, as well as money to Rome for his appointment to the Isles. Although Gordon feued considerable lands, the task was not necessarily easy. This letter sheds an interesting light on the canons, for they would not agree to a feu to supply the needs of the commendator unless it "be to na hurt nother of the place nor tennentis".(181) The canons may not have been so easily manipulated as is sometimes thought. Their efforts to truncate Gordon's desire to feu property may have failed, but their/

178. Gordon Donaldson, op. cit., 114; Peerage, iv. 535.

179. Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xc.

180. Examples of Gordon's alienation of Inchaffray property may be found in RMS, as in iv. 1625, 1640, 2385, and throughout the Feu Charters of Kirklands.

181. Scottish Correspondence, 386.

their attitude demonstrates a loyalty to their house and the tenants on church lands. As most of the canons of Inchaffray were local men, they were doubtless involved with many of the families potentially affected by such feuing. After 1560 Gordon was still busy in land transactions up until his resignation of the commenda to James Drummond.(182) The Reformation does not seem to have slowed the process of this alienation of lands.(183)

Gordon was associated with the Lords of the Congregation in the autumn of 1559.(184) In fact he was active on the council for religion along with the Reformers Knox, Goodman and Willock.(185) Such association makes it seem that his Protestant persuasion was considered genuine. He may have been instrumental in securing the eventual support of Huntly for the Congregation. He certainly seems to have anticipated that support, and he blamed Huntly's delay in active participation on the cunning and deviousness of Mary of Guise.(186) In April 1560 Gordon's pledges were redeemed when both he and Huntly signed the band to "set forward the Reformation of religion."(187) Gordon attended the Reformation parliament of 1560 and was a lord of the articles.(188) He was listed by Knox among the prelates/

182. Gordon Donaldson, op. cit., 123.

183. Anthony Ross, op. cit., 35-36.

184. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 543.

185. Ibid., 550.

186. Ibid., 713, 744.

187. Ibid., 751.

188. APS, ii. 525; Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 879.

prelates who had "renounced Papistry, and openly professed Jesus Christ with us", and he signed the First Book of Discipline.(189) In 1562 an election for the superintendency of Galloway, in which Gordon was to oppose Mr. Robert Pont, was proposed. At this time he was the subject of a curious conversation between Mary Queen of Scots and John Knox. Mary is reported to have said, "If ye knew him as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your kirk".(190) Knox himself admits that Gordon had attempted to win election by bribery. Yet Gordon seems to have done the work of superintendency in Galloway. For example, the third of the bishopric was remitted to him, presumably because he was earning it. No other known commissioner served that area, and cases parallel to his are found in the two other pre-Reformation bishops serving in this capacity.(191) Gordon's contribution to the Reformed church appears to be positive. Even after his interest in church affairs had basically been replaced by interest in court affairs, that is in the last days of Mary's reign, he still laboured on behalf of the new church, helping to convince Queen Mary that more money should be provided for the ministers' stipends.(192)

Gordon had a definite reforming influence on the beneficed clergy of Galloway and the monks of Glenluce.(193) Of course, in/

189. Knox, History, i. 335, 345.

190. BUK, 28; Knox, History, ii. 72-73.

191. Gordon Donaldson, op. cit., 120 et seq.

192. Knox, History, ii. 188-189, 193-194.

193. Gordon Donaldson, "Galloway Clergy at the Reformation", passim.

in Galloway he had the combined influence of bishop and Reformed overseer, while at Inchaffray his influence would have been limited by two factors in particular. First, the canons were not altogether passive or accommodating in the wishes of the commendator. Second, when the abbey was placed in tack to Lord Drummond on 7 November, 1560, and then resigned to his son in 1565, a new and important influence was introduced at Inchaffray. Gordon shared influence at the abbey with the head of the most powerful family in the area. Alexander Gordon was no stranger to David Lord Drummond. Alexander was the son of John, Lord Gordon and brother of John, fourth Earl Huntly. Gordon's mother was the illegitimate daughter of James IV and Margaret Drummond, and great-aunt of David Drummond. Thus David Drummond and Alexander Gordon were cousins. Kinship may have played its part in the tack granted to Drummond, but financial arrangements must have been uppermost in Gordon's mind, especially the "gret sowmes of money" paid initially for the tack.(194) For Drummond this arrangement meant an extension of his already considerable power in Strathearn. The tack included the whole of the "abbey monastic place and lordshipe of Inchaffrey", and all pertinents including vicarages and parsonages. The yearly rent was 900 merks. With the completion of this tack the remaining power of the canons must have been dissipated. In effect this tack put in/

194. Inchaffray Charters, 166.

in motion the eventual establishment of Drummond influence over all Inchaffray lands and possessions. By 1565 the abbey was resigned by Gordon and given in commendam to James Drummond, second son of David and Lady Drummond.(195)

After David Drummond's death, the thirds of the abbey were assigned to his widow, Liliash Ruthven.(196) It is possible that a stronger Protestant influence was exerted at the abbey after David Drummond's death. Liliash and her sons Lord Patrick and James were prone to ultra-Protestantism. The late Protestant activity of Denes George Spens and William Ruthven was probably influenced by their fears over the fate of benefice holders in the early 1570s. However, possible Drummond influence in this late conforming cannot be discounted.

Through the first five or six years of the existence of the Reformed church organisation, Gordon's had been the major influence at Inchaffray. It is possible that the three younger canons who conformed may have been much more under his influence than the men who had been canons for some time before 1551. Denes Alexander Murray and William Melrose probably conformed during this early reforming period. Even the two late conformers may have altered their faith long before they accepted pastoral work. While there is no way of judging the exact degree/

195. RSS, v. 2211; It is interesting that after 1565 there were still occasions on which Gordon was styled commendator of Inchaffray. Examples are 15 July, 1566 (Laing Charters, 805) and 4 July, 1566 (RSS, v. 2927).

196. RSS, vi. 1234.

degree of Gordon's Protestant influence at Inchaffray, it is true that the percentage of conformity was the highest here. Finally, the men who conformed were not last minute recruits, but men of some length of standing at the abbey.

Although not all those who were members of these three religious houses at the Reformation may have been identified, some thirty-one religious have been established by name as possibly alive in 1560. Two Cistercians served as Protestant clergy, but only one served in Dunblane diocese. Two Augustinians of Inchmahome served, both within the diocese. Four Augustinians of Inchaffray served, three within the diocese. The majority of those who conformed were the newer recruits and therefore were probably younger men. With the exception of Spens from Inchaffray, seven of the eight conformers can be considered younger. This age factor is important but bears close scrutiny. It is not enough to say that younger men were more susceptible to reforming ideas. Several other factors entered the situation. The commendator's influence on these newer recruits was probably reasonably great. All three institutions had commendators who supported the Reformation. Perhaps the main factor to bear in mind is that these monks and canons were religious and not secular clergy. They must then be seen within the context of the religious house in 1560. Although beneficed clerics who failed to conform lost one-third of their benefice in the settlement of 1561, monks and/

and canons generally retained their portion, or a pension in lieu of that portion, for life.(197) This arrangement made the Reformation a significantly less drastic financial change for most canons and monks than for the beneficed men, and more particularly the hired curates. Financial inducement to the unemployed and unbeneficed cleric was of a singularly appealing nature, while by contrast, the monk or canon was generally no worse off financially after 1560 than before, whatever he chose to do.

Furthermore, the conforming curate generally continued in a familiar community role, often in the same community. Older curates could conform if they could accept a doctrinal change, and often their original grasp of doctrine appears to have been none too secure. Older religious faced a rather different situation. The life of seclusion, or at least a life with little responsibility outwith their religious house, would be completely lost if they conformed to serve. This change was of a rather drastic nature and probably offered little appeal to men who had spent the bulk of their lives within the institutional atmosphere of a religious house. The younger man may have been more susceptible to change, and he was probably more willing to take up new employment to supplement his portion.

Twenty-six per cent of the known religious of Dunblane diocese/

197. Gordon Donaldson, "Parish Clergy at the Reformation", 136-137; TB, Intro, xx, 157, 281; Donaldson, "Galloway Clergy at the Reformation", 46; BA, fo. 283; A & D, 26 fo. 382v; Inchaffray Charters, Intro., c.

diocese joined in the work of the Reformed church. Of the eight who conformed, six served within the diocese, and all of the eight but Drysdale served at least one parish appropriated to their house. Thus the religious of the diocese contributed 12% of the serving Protestant clergy in the first decade of reform.

There were also religious from houses outwith the diocese who served as Protestant clergy within Dunblane diocese. Dene Patrick Galt, a monk of Lindores before 1561 (198), was serving as minister of Abernethy and Abdie by 1567. Lindores lay within the parish of Abdie, and monks had served the cure there prior to 1560.(199) Dene Andrew Hegy, a canon of Cambuskenneth, was reader at Kincardine by 1576 and possibly earlier. James Scot, reader at Monzie by 1567, may have been a Black Friar from Perth, but this is conjecture, and he may rather have been a local man. Finally, John McCorquodale was prior of Strathfillan from 1569. However, any pre-Reformation connection he might have had with that priory remains unknown.

198. Carmichael of Balmedy Papers, no. 4.

199. I.B.Cowan, "Religious and the Cure of Souls", 228.

BISHOP AND CATHEDRAL

Most of the early history of the city of Dunblane really belongs to the church, and the power exerted by the bishop in 1560 becomes evident from a study of the beneficed men of the diocese and the cathedral personnel at the Reformation. The status of burgh may have attached to Dunblane in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but from the fifteenth on it was simply styled city.(1) Its actual size in 1560 is difficult to judge, but even as late as the eighteenth century it was said to have only 330 houses.(2) In Reformation times Dunblane's civic importance was negligible, and whatever fame was attached to the city was due to the episcopal seat of the bishop and the cathedral with its clerical establishment. During the Middle Ages the bishops were as well the principal landowners in the district around the city.(3) Dunblane was thus overshadowed by and dependent on the church. In terms of wider and national church circles, however, Dunblane was one of the smaller dioceses, more or less compact and restricted to a fairly limited geographical area. It did not sprawl like St. Andrews diocese, nor was it a famous ecclesiastical center such as Glasgow or St. Andrews/

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1. G. S. Pryde, Burghs of Scotland, 40.
 2. MacFarlane, Geographical Collections, i. 311.
 3. Barty, History of Dunblane, 74.

Andrews. Certain nobles and landowners in the area had influence, but none to rival the bishop of Dunblane himself. Lord Drummond was the most powerful man in the diocese and his family had a long association with the cathedral, but he was primarily based to the east in Strathearn. The Earl of Menteith was the other principal noble of the diocese, and he was situated much nearer Dunblane at the Lake of Menteith. However, by the mid-sixteenth century this earldom was of relatively minor importance. Several lairds exerted influence in the area. Two of the better known and more important were Stirling of Keir and Chisholm of Cromlix. Neither stood outwith the bishop's influence. The former was married to the bishop's daughter, and the latter was a member of the immediate family to which the last three Roman Catholic bishops of Dunblane belonged. It is within the context of a strong ecclesiastical structure not dominated by a civic or noble rival that the bishops and their cathedral establishment must be seen.

Virtually all diocesan records of Dunblane have been lost, perhaps carried to France by the last Roman Catholic bishop. However, the organisational structure of Dunblane cathedral was probably little different from the other Scottish cathedrals.(4) Because of the lack of cathedral documents, just who were canons of/

4. Dowden, Medieval Church in Scotland, 58-62.

of the cathedral at a given date, and in fact exactly how many canons there might be is not easily ascertained. In recent years various publications have helped to supply the many gaps in personnel at Dunblane (5), but many uncertainties still remain.

Dunblane, like the other Scottish cathedrals, had the standard cathedral dignitaries, the Principales Personae. These primary officials were the dean, the chantor, the chancellor and the treasurer. The dean was the effective head of the chapter of canons and other cathedral personnel. The chantor had general charge of all the musical arrangements for cathedral services and appointed an instructor for the song school. The chancellor had oversight of cathedral records, including the library, ^{and had oversight of the grammar school.} Perhaps of more importance, he composed letters and charters for the chapter and was custodian of the chapter's common seal. The treasurer was in charge of the vessels and vestments of the cathedral, as well as other treasures it might possess. He was not a financial officer as such.(6) The persons serving as dignitaries, as well as the other canons of Dunblane in 1560, will be discussed below.

The Cathedral chapter itself was a corporate body of ecclesiastics who shared a common fund. Generally each canon had a separate/

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5. Of particular importance to a study of Dunblane cathedral personnel are: Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi, 75-93, and J. H. Cockburn, the Medieval Bishops of Dunblane, 267-277.
 6. Dowden, op. cit., 61-62; Kathleen Edwards, English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages, 220.

separate prebend for his personal maintenance. The prebend was usually a parsonage or vicarage within the diocese.(7) The chapter was organised to assist the bishop in his administration, and the canons were themselves in charge of cathedral affairs. They elected their dean and theoretically elected the bishop. As the influence of the chapter grew within the diocese, the canons and their bishop were not infrequently opposed in their interests.(8) Thus the canons of Dunblane who had close ties with the bishop were likely to be important, for they could increase his influence in the chapter.

At the time of Reformation, there were sixteen canons who composed the chapter of Dunblane cathedral.(9) The prebends they held were as follows: the parsonages of Aberfoyle, Abernethy, Balquhiddy, Comrie. The parsonage and vicarage of Glendevon formed one prebend, as did the parsonage and vicarage of Kincardine. Because so many of the diocesan parishes were already appropriated to religious houses in the area, the majority of the cathedral prebends were in fact established by appropriating vicarages. Thus many parishes were left with the parsonage revenues going to one institution, the vicarage to another, and only a vicar pensioner or hired curate left in the parish to perform the necessary pastoral functions. Such was/

7. Dowden, op. cit., 59; I.B. Cowan, "The Organisation of Scottish Secular Cathedrals and Chapters", SCHS, xiv. 20.

8. Edwards, op. cit., 97 et seq.; preface, vii.

9. Cowan, op. cit., 43. There is here a list of the sixteen prebends and their approximate or specific dates of origin.

was the case at Logie parish, where the parsonage revenues pertained to the priory of North Berwick and were set in tack to Home of Polwarth (10), and the vicarage was a prebend of Dunblane cathedral. The parish duties were performed by a curate. There were eight other vicarages besides Logie which constituted prebends of the Cathedral. The vicarages of Abernethy, Dunblane, Findogask, Kilmadock, Kippen, Monzie, Muthill, and Strogeith were all prebends. Thus there were fifteen prebends established from parish revenues. Some of these prebends were assigned to specific cathedral personnel and shall be discussed below. There was also one other canon of the cathedral. The chanter, who from the thirteenth century had been the abbot of Inchaffray (11), also was a canon. The source of revenue for this prebend is uncertain. There were then a total of sixteen prebends at the cathedral. Although there is some uncertainty about the canons holding certain prebends in 1560, most can be assigned with accuracy. Establishing who held these prebends and what happened to the various canons during the Reformation era should shed some light on the religious bias of this central religious establishment of the diocese. First, the four dignitaries of the cathedral and their prebends. The dean of the cathedral held the prebend of the vicarage of the parish of Dunblane.(12) One quarter of the entire fruits of the parish of/

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10. References to parsonages, vicarages and ecclesiastical personnel not annotated may be compared in appendices I & II.
 11. Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xxxvii.
 12. Cowan, op. cit., 43.

of Tullibole supplemented the dean's prebend. From about 1550 the dean was Mr. Roger Gordon. He is of considerable interest, for he would seem to have been the only resident prebendary who conformed to serve as a Protestant clergyman. He did not, however, take up such service until about 1572. Furthermore, he was minister at Whithorn in Galloway, some considerable distance from Dunblane. It is not impossible that Roger Gordon was related to Alexander Gordon, the bishop of Galloway. If so, the bishop may have influenced his conformity. The lateness of his conformity may not have been unrelated to the growing pressure on benefice holders to conform and serve in the early 1570s, culminating in the order in 1573 for dispossession of benefice holders who did not conform.(13) If Gordon had conformed in the early 1560s it is not impossible that he might have had some influence on the canons. Even if he held Protestant beliefs at an early date, his lack of service may have encouraged others simply to stay as they were and wait. Gordon held the prebend until about 1588 and his was the only prebend which came into the possession of a Protestant clergyman without a change in personnel.

The chantor of Dunblane was the abbot of Inchaffray abbey. At the Reformation that abbacy was held in commendam by Mr. Alexander/

13. APS, iii. 72c.

Alexander Gordon, whose Protestant activities have been traced above. There was some unknown prebendal support for him. Because his position was really honorary, the extent of his influence at Dunblane, save possibly on Mr. Roger Gordon, would have been minimal. He can hardly be counted as a conforming canon. The chancellor of Dunblane cathedral was supported by the prebend of the vicarage of Kilmadock.(14) By 1546 Mr. James Kennedy was the chancellor of Dunblane. Kennedy had been a canon of the cathedral since at least 9 June, 1532, when he was presented to the prebend of the parsonage of Aberfoyle. He continued to hold both prebends until his death in about 1571. He was a pluralist holding a variety of other benefices. Upon Kennedy's death, both the parsonage of Aberfoyle and the vicarage of Kilmadock appear to have gone to the minister of Aberfoyle. Thus eleven years after the Reformation these two prebends came into Protestant hands. The treasurer of Dunblane cathedral held the vicarage of Stodgeith as his prebend.(15) Murrays held the position of treasurer from 1507 until 1622. The treasurer at the Reformation was Mr. William Murray, who had held the office since 1534.(16) This treasurer does not appear to have conformed to serve as a Protestant. In 1567 he resigned the office and it was presented to William Murray, son/

14. BA, fo. 315v.

15. Reg. Dunb., fo. 1.

16. Med. Fasti., 86-87.

son of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine.(17) Although the treasurership was not even then in the hands of a Protestant clergyman, Tullibardine belonged to a Protestant family. Prior to 1567, the treasurership is rather confused, with litigation over the fruits and title of that benefice by two other Murrays; Alexander, another claimant, and Patrick, the former holder. However, the above mentioned William appears to have retained effective control, for in the grant of 1567 title and fruits went successfully to Tullibardine.(18)

Beside the abbot of Inchaffray, two other heads of religious houses held prebends in Dunblane cathedral. The abbot of Cambuskenneth held the prebend of the parsonage and vicarage of Kincardine. At the Reformation the commenda of Cambuskenneth was held by John, Lord Erskine. In 1562 his nephew Adam Erskine became commendator and remained so until 1608.(19) Adam Erskine was a cousin of the commendator of Inchmahome. He did not serve as a Protestant clergyman, but was a convinced Reformer.(20) Thus while the prebend was not in the hands of a Protestant clergyman, it was in the possession of a sympathiser. The thirds of the parish were applied to the stipend of the reader of Kincardine. The parsonage of Abernethy was a prebend held since 1239/

17. RSS, v. 3433.

18. GUA, Resignations, 1550-1551, fo. 26v; Med. Fasti., 86-87.

19. Cambuskenneth Charters, p. cv et seq.

20. Ibid., Intro. p. cv et seq.; Stirling Presbytery Records, 1 Dec., 1581.

1239, by the abbot of Arbroath.(21) Cardinal David Beaton was commendator of Arbroath from 1523. He resigned the monastery to his nephew James, later the archbishop of Glasgow, on 22 March, 1545.(22) Of particular interest in that resignation is an annual pension reserved to Alexander Beaton, the Cardinal's son, of the fruits, rents and emoluments of the vicarage of Monifieth in Fife and the parsonage of Abernethy in the diocese of Dunblane. Despite confusion over Arbroath itself, Beaton definitely retained these benefices, as in 1561 and later.(23) He did not conform, and it is unclear exactly how long he held the prebend. It eventually presumably returned to Arbroath.(24) In 1576 the third of the parsonage was part of the stipend of Patrick Wemyss, minister of Dunbarney and several Dunblane parishes.(25) The four dignitaries and two abbots possessed among them seven of the cathedral prebends.

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21. Cowan, op. cit., 43.
 22. GUA, Consensus, 1546, fos. 56-56v. There was considerable confusion and disagreement over the commenda of Arbroath after Beaton's death, for the Hamiltons, Douglasses and James Beaton all had a claim. (Arbroath, ii. p. xiii.) Within a few days of the cardinal's death the abbey was called vacant (RSS, iii. 1700), and so again in 1547 (Ibid., 2301). Beaton was forfeited in 1548 and his escheat went to Angus and George Douglas in 1548. At that time it was said that Beaton was "pretendand to brouke the benefice of Abirbrothok". (RSS, iii. 2902) In 1549-1550, although he was called a traitor for intercommuning with the English, he was styled abbot of Arbroath. (RSS, iv. 513, 533; ADCP, 587)
 23. TB, 237; BA, fos. 306, 308; Please see Appendix I.
 24. Cowan, op. cit., 35; Reg. Dunb., fo.1.
 25. Assignations, 1576, fo. 34v.

The nine remaining prebends were held by a variety of canons. The parsonage of Balquhiddar was held by the pluralist Mr. James Rolland from 8 October, 1545 until 1570 when he died. This prebend was thereafter regularly used to support various scholars. For example, on 9 October, 1570, Balquhiddar was granted for eleven years to George Hart, a scholar from Stirling who was at the time a student at St. Andrews.(26) This presentation may not have been popular with John Burdon, minister of Balquhiddar, who did not find it easy to collect his stipend for Balquhiddar. Part of that stipend was Our Lady altar in Dunblane cathedral which, although assigned to Burdon, seemed to find its way to the minister of Dunblane.(27) Burdon's plight may reflect the difficulties experienced by the rural clergy when faced with burghal opposition. The parsonage of Balquhiddar continued to provide revenue for scholars, going in 1582/3 to John Murray, son of Oliver Murray in Dunganros for seven years of schooling.(28) The prebend of the parsonage of Comrie was held from 6 February, 1554/5 by Mr. Alexander Chisholm. He held the benefice well into the 1580s and probably until his death/

26. Reg. Pres., i. fo. 41.

27. Assignations, 1576, fo. 33v.; From this same note in the Assignations it appears that from 1573 Burdon was intended to have the thirds of Balquhiddar as a portion of his stipend. However, that move was also thwarted, and the prebend was used in its entirety for Hart's education.

28. Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 87v.

death by 1595/6. He does not appear to have conformed to serve but must have expressed compliance with the Protestant confession of faith. In 1576 the third of the parsonage was still being used to pay part of the stipend of the reader of Comrie.(29)

The vicarage of the wealthy parish of Abernethy provided a sizeable prebend to Mr. David Gourlay, chaplain and factor of the bishop of Dunblane.(30) As far as is known, Gourlay never conformed, and at his decease in 1565 Mr. David Robisoun was presented to the prebend. Robisoun also failed to conform before his death in 1572, when John Wemyss, the reader at Abernethy, was presented to the vicarage. Within twelve years from the Reformation this prebend was to be at the disposal of the Protestant clergy. Another Wemyss, Robert, had held this prebend in 1534/5.(31) The prebend of the vicarage of Kippen was held in 1560 by sir John Hammyll. He did not conform, and after his death the prebend passed in 1566 to William Bannerman. Bannerman is not known to have served as a Protestant, and at an unknown date the vicarage came into the possession of Mr. Alexander Chisholm (32), probably the same man who was parson of Comrie. The vicarage of Monzie was another prebend held by a conservative from the early 1550s until 1573, sir Andrew Strathenry. Upon his decease, sir William/

29. Assignations, 1576, 35v.

30. BA gives the value as £53/6/8, TB and Assignations, 1576, as 2/3 of that figure.

31. Cal. Charters, 1105.

32. RSS, 68, fo. 83.

William Scot, the reader of the parish, was presented to the prebend, and was styled canon of Dunblane and prebendary of Monzie.(33) The prebend of the vicarage of Muthill pertained to the sub-dean of the cathedral.(34) At the Reformation the sub-dean was sir Edmond Chisholm. With his apparent family connection to the bishop of Dunblane, it is not surprising that he did not serve as a Protestant clergyman. Thus Muthill did not come into the hands of a serving Protestant clergyman before 1590.(35)

The vicarage of Findogask was the prebend held by the archdeacon of Dunblane. From about 1550 the archdeacon was sir George Wawane, who was a canon of the cathedral, having by at least 1532 held the prebend of Monzie. Before 1542 he had also been prebendary of Logie. In that year he had resigned the title of Logie but kept the fruits.(36) Just how long Wawane may have remained as archdeacon is uncertain. He probably lived through the first year or two of Reform, but by 1563/4 he had been replaced by Mr. James Chisholm. It would be surprising if the bishop's archdeacon conformed, and neither man did so. Wawane may not have lived long enough to express his views. Chisholm was a pluralist of some note, being parson and vicar of Tarbolton and/

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33. RSS, vi. 2023; RMS, v. 425; Feu Charters of Kirklands, ii. fo. 94; Abercairny Muniments 1/120, no. 48.
 34. Cowan, op. cit., 43.
 35. RSS, 60. fo. 137v; 61, fo. 40v.
 36. GUA, Annates, 1542, fo. 73v.

and provost of St. Giles. One of the earliest records where Chisholm was styled archdeacon demonstrates that he was not on good terms with the Protestant minister of Dunblane in 1564.(37) He did not conform to Protestant clerical service, but was styled archdeacon as late as 1595.(38) This prebend was a long time coming into the possession of the Protestant clergy. Chisholm may well have become archdeacon after 1561, for in that year he was a canon of Dunblane holding the prebend of Logie.(39) The prebend of the vicarage of Logie presents a confusing picture. In 1562 Robert Seton, son of Walter Seton of Tullibody, was presented to the vicarage.(40) It was stated that the deceased prebendary of that date was sir John Forfar. Sir John Forfar had been inducted as a chaplain of the altar of Our Lady in 1549/50 but soon resigned.(41) He was styled canon of Dunblane in 1557.(42) Apparently in 1561 Chisholm held the prebend of Logie. It is not impossible that Chisholm held the revenues, while Forfar held the title to Logie. This type of arrangement had prevailed in 1542 when sir George Wawane held the fruits and sir John Coldene held the title of this prebend.(43) An arrangement/

37. A & D, 29, fos. 170-170v: He was in dispute over the manse of Findogask with Mr. Thomas Drummond.

38. RMS, vii. 960.

39. BA, fo. 298.

40. Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 71v.

41. Stirlings of Keir, nos. 174, 175.

42. Ibid., no. 187.

43. GUA, Annates, 1542, 19 July, fos. 73v-74.

ment along these lines would allow Chisholm to deal with the money of the prebend, while Forfar could be called canon. At any rate, Seton did not become a Protestant clergyman. However, while George fifth Lord Seton, and head of the family during the Reformation era, was a staunch Roman Catholic, Seton of Tullibody were clients of the Earl of Mar and appear to have followed the Erskines in religious matters. In 1570 the thirds of this vicarage were remitted to Seton. By contrast, the other Seton to hold a benefice in Dunblane diocese, Seton of Northrig, was deprived in 1573 for failure to subscribe the articles of Religion.(44)

The remaining prebend has some unusual characteristics as well. The parsonage and vicarage of Glendevon was held from 1543 by Mr. William Chisholm. After becoming coadjutor bishop in 1561, Chisholm continued to hold the prebend.(45) In 1566, having been bishop for two years, Chisholm demitted the prebend and it was granted to Mr. Stephen Wilson. This move may have been an attempt to strengthen conservative feeling at the cathedral. Wilson was a strong conservative cleric who, like Chisholm, was an active participant in political affairs on the Marian side. Wilson was still holding the prebend in 1573 (46), and apparently/

44. Peerage, vii. 585 et seq.; TB, 249; Cf. appendix II.

45. BA, fo. 297v; RSS, v. 2908.

46. RSS, vi. 2423.

apparently for some time after, although he never seems to have made any move to conform. Thus this prebend did not readily fall to the Protestant clergy. The thirds of Glendevon were still going toward the support of the minister and reader here in 1576 and after. Wilson continued to hold the 2/3 and was formally the parson until his decease. At that time the Protestant minister of Glendevon was presented to the prebend, on 23 April, 1601.(47)

Finally, the vicarage of Auchterarder was common to the canons of Dunblane. Its value was only £20, and in 1560 it was in tack to sir William Blackwood, a priest of the Dunblane area. That tack was reconfirmed to sir William and his brother sir James Blackwood in 1571/2 by Dean Roger Gordon and the canons of the cathedral.(48) These two brother priests may have held the tack jointly twenty years earlier.(49) Leaving aside this prebend held in common, there were sixteen prebends and probably fifteen or sixteen canons, as two of the prebends were held by the chancellor in 1560. Of the canons of 1560 at Dunblane, only one man became a Protestant clergyman.

The surnames of those men who held prebends in Dunblane cathedral provide some insight into the conservative fabric of the chapter. The most obvious conservative name was Chisholm. This Chisholm family provided the bishops of Dunblane from 1487 until/

47. Assignations, 1576, fo. 36; Reg. Pres., iii. fos. 46-46v.

48. RSS, vi. 1419.

49. Dubb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 383v.

until the late 1560s.(50) For many years before 1560 the Chisholm bishops of Dunblane had brought others of that name into the diocesan clerical structure. For example, at earlier times in the sixteenth century Chisholms had been deans of Dunblane as well as chancellor, archdeacon and official.(51) It is important that there were four canons of Dunblane cathedral in 1560 who were surnamed Chisholm; Mr. James, later the archdeacon, Mr. Alexander, the parson of Comrie, sir Edmond, the subdean, and Mr. William, later to be bishop. Thus members of the episcopal family controlled some 25% of the prebends in the cathedral. This large family representation, seen within the context of Scottish social emphasis on family loyalty, gave Bishop Chisholm a sound personal base of support within the chapter and a strong conservative texture to the canons of the Reformation era. Other names of canons, like that of Chisholm, appear to have been local. Mr. David Gourlay, factor of the bishop and vicar of Abernethy was probably local, for the name was to be found in Fife and Perthshire.(52) Hammyll is another common name to the area.(53) Strathenry may have been from the eastern part of Perthshire or Fife.(54) Kennedy, basically a name from the south and southwest, was found elsewhere.(55) The chancellor of/

50. Med. Fasti., 77-78.

51. Ibid., 82, 85, 90, 93.

52. George Black, Surnames of Scotland, 321.

53. Ibid., 340. The name appears in a widespread area. With the nephew following his uncle at Auchterarder, it seems they were a local family.

54. Black, op. cit., 754.

55. Ibid., 392-393.

of that name apparently held the same faith as the illustrious Qunitin Kennedy at Crossraquel. Rolland, a pluralist who may only rarely have been in Dunblane, was not an uncommon name in the area.(56) The only conforming canon, Dean Roger Gordon, may have been a local man, for there were several Gordons in the area, particularly involved with the Drummonds. The cantor was also a Gordon, the abbot of Inchaffray. A canon like Mr. Alexander Beaton would not be local and probably only very rarely present in Dunblane. The treasurer was a Murray, a name extremely common in Dunblane and doubtless a local person. The archdeacon's name of Wawane was not unknown in the Stirling area.(57) Perhaps the most noteworthy absence of a family name among the canons is that of Drummond. Nevertheless, earlier times had seen Drummonds serve as deans of the cathedral from 1462 to 1513 (58), while Drummonds are found in other positions within the diocese and in fact within the cathedral, as noted below.

What of the lesser personnel of the cathedral? These are often rather difficult to establish. There would have been a choral vicar for each canon, as every canon was bound to provide a/
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56. Ibid., 698.

57. Ibid., 805.

58. Med. Fasti., 82.

a deputy.(59) These choral vicars substituted for the canons by participating in the services held in the cathedral. At Dunblane then there would have been some sixteen choral vicars. Sometimes these men were assigned to altars in the cathedral (60), this arrangement providing further income for the vicar. This may well have been the case at Dunblane; for example, sir Andrew Lauder, a choral vicar, was probably also the chaplain of Trinity Altar within the cathedral.(61) In the main, however, the choral vicars must have been supported by the canons whose duties they fulfilled in the cathedral choir and by their common property. A list of nine choral vicars is given in the Book of Assumptions. The nine who were definitely choral vicars were: sirs James Forsyth, Robert Henrysoun, Thomas Rob, Alexander Anderson, William Drummond, Edmond Chisholm, William Johnsoun, Andrew Lauder, and Robert Sinclair.(62) These men had held their chaplainries for varying lengths of time. Sir James Forsyth easily had the longest period of service, having been a choral vicar for over thirty years.(63) Many of the other choral vicars must have held their positions for only a few years, for several early contemporaries of sir James Forsyth appear to have died only/

59. Dowden, op. cit., 66.

60. Ibid., 67.

61. BA, fo. 317v; Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 155.

62. BA, fo. 317v.

63. RMS, iii. 1257.

only in the 1550s. Sir John Masoun was another chaplain of 1532/3 still at Dunblane in 1552 and 1554.(64) Sirs Malcolm Drummond and Andrew Ewinsoun both served as choral vicars from at least 1532/3 until 1552.(65) These long periods of service suggest choral vicars once established continued service unabated; they rarely rose above that station. They were in fact an integral part of the cathedral establishment, for canons, like parsons in general, were apt to be pluralists and often away from their prebendal manses. Another of these chaplains of 1532/3 who continued on through the Reformation era was sir John Wricht. In 1550/1 he was styled chaplain and procurator of the bishop of Dunblane.(66) From that point he rose to attain the perpetual vicarage of Callander (where the parsonage was mensal to the bishop) and he also became a chaplain of the Altar of St. Michael in Dunblane Cathedral, an altar in the patronage of the bishop's son-in-law. Thus Wricht continued at Dunblane for some forty years, but through promotion his capacity was changed. His promotion makes him an exceptional choral vicar. The mode of his promotion would have given the bishop considerable influence over him, and he did not conform.

Although Forsyth and Wricht appear to have been at Dunblane the/

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- 64. Burnett-Stuart Collection, no. 38; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 417.
 - 65. Burnett-Stuart Collection, no. 38.
 - 66. P.B. Robert Rollok, no. 87.

the longest period of time, the remaining choral vicars can be located at various pre-1560 dates. Sir Robert Henrysoun had been a chaplain of the choir since at least 1552, as was the case with sir Thomas Rob.(67) Sir Alexander Anderson appears to have become a choir chaplain sometime after 1552 but before 1556 (68), perhaps following a relative and former chaplain, sir William Anderson.(69) The sir Edmond Chisholm who was a choral vicar in 1561 was presumably a different man from the sub-dean of the cathedral. If so, yet another Chisholm belonged to the cathedral establishment of 1560. Sir Robert Sinclair also appears to have been a late comer to the choir, at least after 1552. Sir Andrew Lauder, a member of the choir by 1556 (70), continued to hold a chaplainry until his death around 1586.(71) He may have been a chaplain as early as 1554.(72) Finally, sirs William Johnston and William Drummond were apparently late-comers to the choir of Dunblane, some time after 1552. Drummond held his chaplainry for many years after the Reformation, being styled late chaplain in 1600. Although Drummond was one of three possible chaplains mentioned at that late date, he does not appear to have been the William Drummond who served as exhorter and minister at Crieff. The latter is not styled sir/

67. Burnett-Stuart Collection, no. 38.

68. Ibid.; RMS, iv. 1066.

69. RMS, iii. 1257.

70. RMS, iv. 1066.

71. Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 185.

72. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 417.

sir nor is any portion of his stipend derived from the revenues of the chaplains of Dunblane.(73)

Like the canons, the choral vicars operated as a corporation, holding certain lands in common, as well as receiving individual stipends from the various canons. Some of the lands the corporation purchased in 1532 were in the barony of Keir, and they possessed other lands as well.(74) One of these chaplains, sir Andrew Lauder, also served as a chaplain in Trinity altar within the cathedral. Five other chaplains of cathedral altars have been identified. Serving the altar of Our Lady was sir William Blackwood. The patron of the altar was Stirling of Keir and Blackwood was chaplain there from 1550.(75) This may be the William Blackwood who was the principal notary of the diocese and continued in this work long after 1560, being excommunicated in 1590.(76) This name is quite common to the area and it is difficult to be too definite about exact identification. The other altar in the patronage of Stirling of Keir was that of St. Michael. Here the chaplain was sir John Wricht, whose case has been discussed above. In fact, many of these chaplains were probably also choral vicars. The altars of St. Stephen and St. Blaise were in the patronage of the bishop as was Trinity altar.(77)

The/

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73. Reg. Pres., iii. fo. 42; RSS, vi. 2465; Reg. Pres., iii. fo. 42; RSS, 64, fo. 45.
 74. RMS, iii. 1257; TB, 16-17.
 75. Stirlings of Keir, nos. 175, 176.
 76. RPC, iv. 521.
 77. Cockburn, op. cit., 190.

The altar of St. Blaise was served by sir John Lermonth, probably the vicar pensioner of the parish of Dunblane. It is unlikely that the Michael (or John) Lermonth who served as reader and then minister of Kilbride would have been this chaplain, for his stipend as minister does not include St. Blaise, and the third of St. Blaise went to support other Protestant clergy.(78) At St. Stephen's altar the chaplain is less certain. It may have been one Alexander Chisholm, or sir William Drummond, or sir John Hammyll, for all three are referred to in the gift of the chaplainry in 1600. Perhaps Drummond, a chaplain of the choir, was also a chaplain of St. Stephen's Altar. It may have been that Hammyll, a canon, held this chaplainry as well. Either or both of these men may have been chaplains at this altar in 1560, for both are styled sir, while Alexander Chisholm is given no designation at all.(79) The patron of the altar of St. Nicholas was Lord Drummond. This altar was served from at least 1554 by sir James Finlayson, through the Reformation era and on through the 1560s.(80) There were possibly other altar chaplains, for some of the altars may have had more than one chaplain, and there may have been some eleven altars. The altar of Our Lady had at least two chaplains.(81) There were also other chaplains in Dunblane/

78. Assignations, 1576, fos. 37, 33v insert.

79. Reg. Pres., iii. fo. 42; RSS, 71, fo. 328.

80. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fos. 371, 408; BA, fo. 305; TB, 165; In fact the third of St. Michael's was going toward a minister's stipend in 1576. Assignations, 1576, fo. 33v. insert.

81. Stirlings of Keir, no. 82; David McRoberts, "Dunblane Cathedral Under Chisholms", SFDC, 1971, 37 et seq.

Dunblane whose exact employment is uncertain. For example, a deceased Mr. James France had his testament registered in 1558. He was simply referred to as a chaplain in Dunblane (82), and in 1557 Mr. Walter Mely was simply called chaplain of Dunblane.(83) Some of these clerics may have been personal chaplains to local land owners or have had some other employment in the cathedral.

What is of paramount interest about these chaplains of the choir and the altarge chaplains of the cathedral is that as far as can be ascertained none conformed to serve as a Protestant clergyman. It seems that of the known cathedral establishment only the dean conformed to serve as a Protestant clergyman. The situation at the cathedral is then not much different from that of the beneficed diocesan men in general, but it is in sharp contrast to the unbeneficed curates and even the canons and monks, where a fairly high percentage of known personnel conformed to serve, often quite early on.

How is this contrast of service to be explained? As noted above, there were several younger men serving as choral vicars in 1560, yet unlike the younger monks, none of these men seems to have conformed. The work of these men in chaplainries must have brought them in regular contact with the citizenry of Dunblane, yet unlike the curates they failed to find new avenues of/

82. Dunb. Test., ii. fo. 36.

83. Feu Charters of Kirklands, ii. fo. 326.

of service in the Reformed church. The retention of 2/3 of their chaplainry might have encouraged some to remain conservative, but these amounts were not great. The altar of St. Blaise provided £20, but St. Michael's only £16, St. Nicholas only £13/6/8, and Our Lady only £4.(84) The common land of the choral vicars provided some income, but only some £68 is accounted for in the Thirde of Benefices.(85) Which choral vicar was deputising for which individual canon is generally unknown, but there is evidence that sir Robert Henderson was deputising for the parson of Balquhiddy, for in 1554 a payment of two merks was received by Henderson from the parson after litigation.(86)

One must conclude that not only among the canons, but with the cathedral personnel as well, the prevailing influence was that of the strongly conservative Chisholms. The dean's late conformity notwithstanding, the bishop must have held the real power at Dunblane. Within the structure of the medieval cathedral the interests of bishop and chapter would often clash.(87) However, by 1560 the bishop of Dunblane, while not a member of the chapter himself, as was the case at some cathedrals (88), had what must have been strong support within the chapter. As mentioned above, 25% of the prebends were held by Chisholms. When the bishop's chaplain and factor, Mr. David Gourlay, is added to this group, the figure is increased to nearly 33%. Among/

84. TB, 14-15.

85. Ibid., 16-17.

86. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 373v.

87. Edwards, op. cit., 97, et seq.

88. Cowan, op. cit., 22.

Among the altar chaplains and chaplains of the choir, their dependence on the bishop must have been very real. In terms of the diocesan structure, they were relatively insignificant personnel, and they may have relied on the bishop for some financial help if they remained conservative. If so, this would have been the reverse of what happened at Culross, where financial penalty was incurred by conservatism. Bishop Chisholm was not without friends among the lesser cathedral personnel. Sir Edmond Chisholm, the chaplain, whether the same person as the sub-dean or not, was apparently a relative of the bishop's. William Blackwood, chaplain of Our Lady Altar had been presented by the patron of that altar, James Stirling of Keir, the bishop's son-in-law.(89) Lermonth, the surname of another chaplain, was a family with close relations with the bishop. In the 1550s one Robert Lermonth had been curator of James Chisholm, a natural son of the bishop, and was also tutor of Jane Stirling, a granddaughter of the bishop.(90) The bishop, it should be remembered, was also patron of three of the cathedral altars.

Dunblane was a small and not exceptionally wealthy diocese. Its income of about £640 looks very small beside the £3400 of Dunkeld, the other Perthshire diocese.(91) The bishop himself had appropriated to his mensa seven parsonages: Callander, Dunblane/

89. Stirlings of Keir, no. 175.

90. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, 11. fos. 356, 330.

91. Easson, op. cit., 168-169.

Dunblane, Findogask, Kilmahog, Monzie, Muthill and Stroeith, and possessed a fourth of the income of Balquhadder, Comrie, Fossoway and Tulliallan. The service of the three Chisholm bishops spanned over eighty years, beginning in 1487.(92) In 1526, while James Chisholm was still bishop of Dunblane, his half-brother William was provided to the see. James retained a theoretical right of regress, but virtually went unnoticed in public records from that year until his death in 1545.(93) Bishop William Chisholm was to some extent involved in government, particularly through his attendance at Parliament and as a member of the privy council periodically in the 1540s and 1550s.(94) As noted in the discussion of the religious houses of Dunblane, the major ecclesiastics of the country were regularly involved in national politics. There is, however, an important difference between William Chisholm and the heads of those houses. They all held their positions in commendam, while Chisholm was very much a functioning bishop. Although Chisholm's contribution to national politics appears to have been average for a prelate, rather than outstanding, he must have been a shrewd man. For example, he was an extraordinary lord on the college of justice in 1545 and 1548, and from 2 December/

92. Cockburn, op. cit., 168-169.

93. Ibid., 199; RSS, iii. 1499.

94. A brief but detailed account of his various political activities is given in Cockburn, op. cit., 200-201. The assessment of his political career on page 201 is rather over-enthusiastic.

2 December, 1558 he was an ordinary lord on that body.(95)

Several incidents in the life of William Chisholm shed light on his political and religious outlook during his tenure of the bishopric. On 16 March, 1530/1, a letter was sent from the crown ordering Chisholm to come to Edinburgh for the "degradatioun of ane priest".(96) It may be that this degradation involved a priest accused of heresy. If so, it was not the last time Chisholm was to be involved in a heresy trial. Later in that decade the parish priest of Tullibody was married secretly to a widow in the village. Although Bishop Chisholm himself had several illegitimate children, it was he who accused the priest and pursued the case. The priest was condemned to imprisonment but escaped and fled to England.(97) In 1538/9 Bishop Chisholm, along with Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Gavin Dunbar, condemned five men to the fire, including Thomas Forret, the vicar of Dollar. It was in connection with that tragic trial and execution that Knox referred to Chisholm as "the incestuous bishop of Dunblane", a charge later repeated by others.(98) The bishop also participated in the heresy trial of Sir John Borthwick in 1540.(99)/

95. ADCP, 555, 586; Brunton & Haig, College, 89.

96. TA, v. 442. In the middle of the decade he was involved in the trial of a priest accused of conspiring with the English against the life of James V. (Formulare, ii. 49)

97. Calderwood, History, i. 123-124; RSS, ii. 2858.

98. Knox, History, i. 27.

99. St.A.K.S.R., i. 91 et seq.

1540. This conservative bishop attended the reforming council of 1549 (100), although the council's recommendations may have had little affect on his personal life. His natural children were still to be provided for, as shown by the tutor provided for his son, James in the person of Robert Lermonth.(101) Whatever else came of this council, it had been called to counter the spread of heresy and made suggestions for controlling innovations in ecclesiastical matters.(102) Perhaps as a result of this council meeting, the bishop was again involved in a major heresy trial, that of Adam Wallace in Edinburgh in 1550.(103) Thus Chisholm had a lengthy record of steadfast Roman Catholic loyalty during this period of increasing interest in outside ideas and the spread of foreign and heretical doctrine. He was never really to modify that position. It was in Edinburgh in 1536 that Bishop Chisholm ordained a priest named John Knox.(104) Perhaps if the bishop had been younger and in better health in 1560, more would have come of his conflict with the leader of the new religious party.

Chisholm's religious and political affections were parallel. A firm believer in the old church, he was also faithful to the conservative government of pre-Reformation days. During the years of the "rough wooing" of Henry VIII, Chisholm faithfully attended/

100. Patrick, Statutes, 85.

101. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 356.

102. Patrick, op. cit., 122-123.

103. Knox, Works, i. 544.

104. Peter J. Shearman, "Father Alexander McQuhirre, S.J.", Innes Review, vi. 42-45.

attended council meetings and promised to contribute to the army to be raised for the defense of the country.(105) He attended the Parliament of 1545 which prohibited assurance to England.(106) He is most often found on the more conservative side of political matters. For example, in August 1543 he was one of the representatives of Cardinal Beaton who met with Arran's representatives to arrange a peace between the factions.(107) Earlier he had signed the secret bond of Cardinal Beaton, whereby a large group voiced their fears of the English and their willingness to band together for common defense if need be against Arran.(108) A year later he was one of those who signed the letter which purported to relieve Arran of his office and place Mary of Guise at the head of state.(109)

Throughout the 1540s Chisholm showed little sign of taking any political or religious position other than that of the strict conservative; for France and the Roman Catholic Church. This impression of strong conservatism is not changed by his activities during the 1550s. Upon taking formal control of the government in 1554, Mary of Guise was in need of large sums of money to run the state. Part of this need was met by the "rich bishop of Dunblane". In 1554/5 £800 was received by the regent from Chisholm/

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105. L & P, xx. (i), 1039, 1049, 1059.
 106. APS, ii. 459-460; L & P, xx. (ii), 534.
 107. L & P, xviii. (ii), 14.
 108. Hamilton Papers, i. 446.
 109. L & P, xix. (i), 664.

Chisholm. The considerably larger sum of £4400 was obtained from Chisholm in 1555.(110) Perhaps rich was not an altogether inaccurate title. The bishop may have had private means, or perhaps could utilize valuable church fixtures, such as those possessed by David Beaton and stolen by Murray of Tullibardine.(111) This substantial monetary help provided by Chisholm doubtless enhanced his political standing, and from 1554 he appears to have been highly in the queen's favour. In 1556 he, along with Maitland of Lethington and James MacGill, clerk of register, was a commissioner for Scotland meeting with the English commissioners to draw up plans for peace.(112) This work was not without precedent, for Chisholm had been appointed a commissioner to deal with the English regarding the border in 1553.(113)

At the same time, the late 1550s was a time of growing religious unrest. The reforming councils had accomplished much on paper, but seem to have made little real impression on the Scottish church as a whole. Mary of Guise was well aware of the seriousness and danger of this situation (114), and sought Papal assistance in appointing prelates within the church who could force corrections in the lives of churchmen and the repair and sustenance of church property. One of the prelates she considered "most capable of executing the above reforms" was William/

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110. Balcarres Papers, ii. p. xlix.; TA, x. 261.
 111. Cf. above, p. 56-57.
 112. Keith, History, i. 163; Lesley, History, 256.
 113. RPC, i. 150.
 114. Papal Neg., 528-529.

William Chisholm.(115) While it is true that Chisholm had a number of natural children, and that his interests in farming and land transactions were by no means small (some of the abuses listed by Mary of Guise), it is also true that he had proven a loyal and profitable friend to the regent. Whatever his personal failings, Chisholm was most likely an able ecclesiastical administrator. If one can judge by the loyalty he seems to have commanded from his beneficed men and the cathedral personnel at the Reformation, he was not without persuasive powers.

By the end of the decade the bishop was in a poor state of health. He was by this time in his early sixties. As a member of the court of session, he was expected to be present to hear cases, but on 5 January, 1558/9, he excused himself on the grounds of great bodily danger. He had been "evill at eis throcht alternations" of his leg and was virtually confined to bed.(116) Howevermuch he may have suffered as a result of his illness, he continued to work for the conservative cause through 1559 and 1560. On 11 May, 1559, Knox sparked the drive to oust Mary of Guise and reform the church with his sermon in Perth. Thereafter the city was the scene for a show of force by the regent and the lords of the congregation. It was at this juncture that Lord James Stewart joined the congregation. A group of notable conservative prelates attended the queen that May in Perth/

115. Ibid., 530.

116. Scottish Correspondence, 415.

Perth: James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane.(117) After their shift of opinion to the Protestant faction, Argyll and Lord James Stewart spent June 1559 destroying images in a variety of churches, one of which was Dunblane cathedral.(118) This iconoclasm at Dunblane must simply have reinforced the bishop's ardour for his old faith. All the more because he was impotent to take any action himself. Through the summer and into the autumn the bishop was little involved in the political and military struggles of the nation. In fact his illness had kept him confined to Dunblane. He wrote to Mary of Guise from Dunblane in September 1559, explaining his absence from the court of session through his recurrent illness. He stated in that letter that he had been ill since taking leave of the regent at Perth.(119) Although unable to participate actively in the military battle of 1559-1560, Chisholm's loyalty lay with the queen regent.(120) In November, with the fortunes of the congregation at a low ebb, some of the Protestant lords were intent upon taking Bishop Chisholm, who was styled the "rich Bishop of Dunblane", and making him pay well. Despite his weak physical condition, his political and religious connections were/

117. Lesley, History, 272-273.

118. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 469; Barty, History of Dunblane, 53. All images at the church were to be destroyed, but the fabric of the building was not to be damaged. (J.H. Cockburn, "Dunblane and its Cathedral", SFDC, 1930, p. 20)

119. Scottish Correspondence, 423.

120. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 566; Chisholm seems to have supplied what help he could in the form of his servants.

were clear, for he was said to be an open adversary to the congregation.(121) Even as the political and military cause of the conservatives was waning in the first half of 1560, Chisholm continued to be a strong force in the Roman Catholic faction of the clergy and strong supporter of Mary of Guise.(122) When the regent withdrew to Edinburgh castle in April 1560, it is said that the Bishop of Dunblane was one of those accompanying her.(123)

After the close of war, Chisholm attended the reforming parliament of August 1560.(124) His Catholic beliefs were never in doubt, though he does not appear to have made any strong or positive case for his position.(125) By 25 August the bishops of Dunblane, Dunkeld and St. Andrews had left Edinburgh in consternation.(126) They had, however, signed the petition to Elizabeth that she marry the young Arran.(127) As far as Knox was concerned, the bishop's attendance at parliament had merely demonstrated that he was one of the chief pillars "of the Papistical Kirk".(128) As regards the confession of faith, these three conservative bishops all refused to condemn it outright/

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- 121. Ibid., i. no. 580.
 - 122. Keith, History, ii. 9.
 - 123. Diurnal, 57.
 - 124. APS, ii. 525.
 - 125. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 880, 881.
 - 126. Ibid., 891.
 - 127. APS, ii. 606a.
 - 128. Knox, History, i. 335.

outright, but argued that they had not had sufficient time to examine it.(129) They were in a minority at parliament and it would hardly have been expedient to condemn anything. In fact, they went so far as to agree to all that "myght stand with Godes Word", asking more time to deliberate on the confession.(130)

Because of his conservative posture, Chisholm was considered one of the real hopes the Roman Church had for a quick revival in Scotland. In 1562 the Papal envoy De Gouda attempted to have meetings with the friendly prelates Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross and William Chisholm. Neither meeting took place, as both bishops refused to meet De Gouda because of fear of government reprisal.(131) Although Chisholm and the other conservative prelates must have proved a disappointment to the hopes of the Papal envoy, the Bishop of Dunblane seems to have been successful in exercising his Roman Catholic influence within his own diocese.

In December 1564 the English agent Randolph reported that Bishop Chisholm was at the point of death and had bequeathed his goods to his eight daughters. He apparently died soon after that.(132) Even this final reference to William Chisholm carried with it the censorious overtones of his family and financial/

129. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 886.

130. Ibid., 885; Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 57-58; Knox, History, i. 339.

131. Papal Neg., 134-135.

132. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 124; Cockburn, op. cit., 212.

financial responsibilities. It is notable that he managed a considerable amount of property transactions during his tenure, many of which involved members of his family, and provision for his offspring.(133)

Because of the lack of diocesan records, little assessment is possible of the bishop's interest in or control over the ecclesiastical affairs of Dunblane. However, if the steadfast conservative attitude of the beneficed clergy of Dunblane and the cathedral personnel are at all accurate indicators of the bishop's influence (134), then that influence was most certainly conservative and effective. Earlier chapters have demonstrated that a large percentage of early Dunblane Protestant clergy were indeed ex-priests. Yet the majority of these men were hired curates rather than beneficed men. The influence of the bishop over such curates after 1560 would have been negligible, for their immediate need was a new livelihood, while beneficed men had a close ecclesiastical tie to the bishop.

On 2 June, 1561 William Chisholm, a nephew of the current bishop and canon of Dunblane cathedral, was appointed coadjutor bishop of Dunblane and titular bishop of Massulae in Numidia, thus/

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133. For example: RMS, iii. 1879, 2042, 3007; RMS, iv. 859; Cockburn, op. cit., presents a list of many of the bishop's business dealings from the 1520s on, p. 206-209.
134. Professor Donaldson has demonstrated the potency of a bishop's influence on beneficed men, as in Orkney and Galloway, where Protestant bishops encouraged clergy to conform.

thus attaining full episcopal power in the church universal.(135) However, the senior Chisholm appears to have acted as bishop until his death. With the appointment of a co-adjutor Chisholm and an archdeacon Chisholm shortly after 1560, it appears that the bishop was making one final effort to supply places of profit to members of his family, and that he was attempting to secure a conservative perspective in the diocese after his death. This last Roman Catholic Bishop of Dunblane was no less a staunch supporter of the old church than was his uncle. He had probably been in line for succession to the bishopric before the reformer's victory of 1560.(136) His strong Catholic faith was to be evidenced in the years to come. Although De Gouda felt that the average Scottish bishop was poorly equipped to meet the difficulties of the time, he had praise for the coadjutor, "whom all good men can justly love and be proud of".(137) In fact, Chisholm himself had hopes of becoming a Jesuit.(138)

Chisholm's Scottish career is noteworthy more politically than ecclesiastically. In 1563 he was sent to Rome to bear pledges of loyalty on behalf of Huntly, Atholl, and other Catholic nobles.(139) Henceforth he was to be a primary and trusted messenger of Mary Queen of Scots to her continental and/

135. GUA, Acta Miscellanea, vol. 17, fos. 690-691. This reference was provided by Dr. I.B. Cowan; Cockburn, *op. cit.*, 215.

136. *Papal Neg.*, 40, 42, 29 Feb., 1560.

137. *Ibid.*, 137.

138. *Ibid.*, 134.

139. Cockburn, *op. cit.*, 223; Alexander Ritchie, "Character and Career of William Chisholm II", *SFDC*, 1952, 84.

and Catholic allies. Yet despite this political intrigue and business, his desire for the strictly religious life was an ever-present factor of his personality, and he expressed such feelings in 1565.(140) If disappointed in his early hopes for the religious life, Chisholm did manage to bring a Jesuit into Scotland in 1565, on a return trip from Flanders.(141) Besides the difficulties of fulfilling the functions of a Catholic bishop in Scotland, Chisholm may have feared the possibly compromising positions in which political intrigue could place him. His diplomatic journeys included Rome in 1565, where he sought a dispensation for Mary's wedding to Darnley, although it was actually granted before his arrival, and a mission to Rome requesting money for the queen.(142)

Chisholm assisted in the baptism of the young Prince James.(143) However, religious and political loyalties must have been in strong conflict when he attended the Protestant wedding of Mary to Bothwell (144), and it was surely an ignominious assignment which fell to him afterwards; he was sent by Mary to explain the marriage at Rome. On the occasion of his explanation, although he spoke of the necessity involved in the marriage, there seems to have been a certain disillusionment on the part of the bishop himself.(145) Despite this odious task, Chisholm's loyalty/

140. Papal Neg., appendix iii., nos. 7 and 8, p. 481-483.

141. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 161.

142. Papal Neg., 199-200, 207-209.

143. Diurnal, 104.

144. Ibid., 111-112; Papal Neg., 342.

145. Keith, History, ii. 592 et seq.; Calderwood, History, ii. 358; 366-367; Knox, History, ii. 207; Teulet, Papiers D'etat, iii. 31; v. 25; CSP(Venetian), 1558-1580, 392.

loyalty to Rome is unquestioned. Politics proved his downfall in Scotland. It was probably he who provided lists of Catholic and Protestant nobles in 1566 in an evaluation of Scotland.(146)

Chisholm's political manoeuvring with Papal powers could not go forever unchecked, and after Carberry he was called to account. On 3 September, 1567, his licence to travel abroad was revoked (147), and on 18 September he was accused of a variety of crimes, including saying and hearing mass, "traffiquand with the Papis Nunce", and being involved in the death of Darnley.(148) He probably lost all effective control of the diocese of Dunblane from that date, for he was at the horn, and gift of his escheat went to John, Master of Graham on 6 December, 1567. His fall, like that of Mary herself, was sudden and definite. It was not until 1573 that license was passed to elect a new bishop of Dunblane, necessitated by the forfeiture of Chisholm.(149) However, even as his uncle had made provision for a conservative member of the family to succeed him and another conservative Chisholm to become archdeacon, in 1565 the new bishop had taken the precaution of appointing his brother, James Chisholm of Cromlix, bailie of the lordship of Dunblane.(150)

Henceforth Chisholm's career is mainly one of an exile, with little real effect on Dunblane. From the time of his troubles/

146. Papal Neg., 254-257.

147. RPC, i. 563.

148. Ibid., 569.

149. RSS, vi. 2024; RPC, ii. 334; Cal. Scot. Papers, iv. 636.

150. RMS, iv. 2910.

troubles in 1567, presentations to benefices in Dunblane were directed to the Superintendent of Strathearn.(151) Although overseas, he continued to work for Mary and the Catholic cause in Scotland, and was still considered a threat in his home country.(152) In 1570 he was granted the administration of the see of Vaison in France, where he continued until 1585, when his desire for the religious life was fulfilled, and he entered the Grande Chartreuse monastery.(153) Yet even this new vocation did not release him from other official duties. He returned to Scotland in 1587 to ascertain the state of the Scottish church, having that year been rehabilitated as bishop.(154) The general assembly was up in arms about his very presence, for: "His coming hath encouraged all suspected papists, and brought the simple in great doubt, for by his authority he draweth all with him in the old dance".(155) Apparently Chisholm's personal powers had not abated. His mission was seemingly to win over James VI, but despite the fears of the Protestants, he returned home with no success.(156) His return to Scotland had strong local repercussions, and the Presbytery of Stirling was most agitated/

151. RSS, vi., vii., passim.

152. RPC, ii. 334; Cal. Scot. Papers, iii. 857, 872(1571); iv. 226(1572), 756(1573/4).

153. Dowden, Bishops, 207-208; Cockburn, op. cit., 228; Med. Fasti, 78.

154. RMS, v. 1173; APS, ii. 469.

155. BUK, 721.

156. Cal. Scot. Papers, ix. 460, 490, 570; History King James Sext, 235.

agitated that this man who was "knawin to be ane papeist and ennemie to the reformat religion" should be allowed into the country.(157) The presbytery therefore ordered him to appear before them and subscribe the confession of faith or suffer excommunication. Chisholm refused either to appear or meet with representatives of the presbytery.(158) Despite the extension of Chisholm's license to remain for a time in Scotland, the presbytery moved forward with his excommunication.(159) Mr. William Stirling, minister of Aberfoyle, and Mr. James Burdoun, minister of Fowlis, pronounced the sentence, but both were later rebuked by the privy council and the civil effects of excommunication were lifted.(160) Chisholm seems soon to have departed Scotland for the continent where he died in Rome in 1593.(161)

The above discussion of the cathedral and its Chisholm bishops confirms the first impression of their conservative influence at the time of Reformation. Several reasons have emerged for that influence, which was used to check the spread of reforming ideas among those clergy intimately associated with Dunblane cathedral. The first factor is that of the bishop's influence within the chapter and among the various chaplains of the cathedral. Given that the abbots of Cambuskenneth and/

157. Stirling Presbytery Records, 17 November, 1587.

158. Ibid., 1 December and 12 December, 1587.

159. Ibid., 2 January, 1587/8; 27 February, 1587/8.

160. RPC, iv. 263-264.

161. Dowden, Bishops, 208; Cockburn, op. cit., 229.

and Inchaffray, as well as Mr. Alexander Beaton, would be occupied elsewhere, Chisholm apparently had close personal, family or financial ties with at least five of the remaining thirteen canons. Among the chaplains the bishop also seems to have had several close personal relationships. With the canons, and more particularly with the chaplains, the bishop's potential for financial assistance to those who remained loyal may not have been inconsiderable.

A comparison with the religious houses of the diocese is revealing. Among the monks and canons it was generally the younger men who conformed. As indicated, several of the choral vicars of the cathedral seem to have been younger men as well. At the religious houses of the diocese the pressure from above was generally Protestant; pressure that was demonstrably forceful at Culross. However, at the cathedral there was no incentive to conform, and the conservative stance of the resident bishop appears to have had its effect.

The judgment of the contemporaries of the Chisholm bishops cannot be ignored. Both were judged to be loyal Roman Catholics by friend and foe alike. Both were committed to their cause and did not yield to the pressure of religious or political persuasion. Some Catholics, like Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, left Scotland when the reformers gained control of the government. It was only Hamilton of St. Andrews, Crichton of Dunkeld, and Chisholm of Dunblane, who put up any parliamentary resistance/

resistance in 1560.(162) Hamilton's family responsibilities made it necessary that he be not too obstinate. Even Crichton later seems to have come some way toward conformity.(163) Chisholm was firm until his death, and his successor remained a dedicated and unquestioned Roman Catholic until his death thirty years after the Reformation. The personal persuasive power of these men was therefore the pertinent factor at Dunblane. Even the one canon who conformed to serve as a Protestant minister did so only after the second William Chisholm had been forfeited and was out of the country. The story of Dunblane cathedral at the Reformation was the story of the unyielding Chisholms.

162. Knox, History, i. 335; Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 885, 886.
163. Donaldson, op. cit., 56; Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 9.

EPILOGUE AND CONCLUSION

RECUSANCY

Among men serving as Protestant clerics in Dunblane diocese from 1560-1570, there were those who had disciplinary problems. Some of these men came from that significant group of old church clergy which conformed to service in the new church. The extent of their change in convictions must have varied, for the type of clergy who conformed had the greatest material motivation for doing so, and some may have been concerned more with a stipend than with the propagation of the gospel. Sir Thomas Scot was deposed in 1572 for reasons unknown, but was apparently reinstated.(1) Mr. Adam Marshall simply lacked the ability to function as a minister and was demoted to the readership in 1588. In 1591/2 he was deprived of the vicarage pensionary of Fosso-way.(2) Some of the men whose antecedents are unknown experienced similar difficulties. John Burdon was deposed by the Presbytery of Perth in 1584, but reappeared later as minister of Balquhiddier.(3) Robert Menteith, despite many years of service at Alva and Tillicoultry, was deposed as minister in 1589 because of incompetence.(4) Some may have lost their positions for/

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1. Reg. Minr., 29; Assignations, 1576, fo. 35v.
 2. RSS, 63, fo. 148v.
 3. Ibid., 51, fo. 137; Assignations, 1590, fo. 33v.
 4. SFDC, 1563, 64; Cf. above. p. 173.

for reasons which involved recusancy. The exhorter at Aberfoyle, John McCathren, was deposed in 1571 "for certane offenses". William Scot, the reader at Monzie for over twenty years, was deprived as vicar there in 1591, described as an abuser of the sacraments.(5)

It seems clear from the cases cited that there were disciplinary problems in the new church, but little recusancy among the early Protestant clergy of this diocese. The fact that most of those conforming old church clergy who took up Protestant service continued in their work for long periods of time (6) indicates that, whatever their initial motivation, there was little desire or opportunity to return to the old ways. There may have been clear, but unrecorded, cases of old church clergy who conformed but later returned to the old faith. One recorded instance was that of sir John Moresoun, who in October 1564 was accused of marrying and baptising people according to Roman Catholic rites.(7) He was saying mass in private homes, as well as charging "ane penne" to receive communion. A charge for giving communion was an old custom against which the church had attempted to take action.(8) On Easter day 1564 (2 April) Moresoun "ministrat to ane hundreth personis" in the house of John Graham in Pannalis. This was probably Panholes in Perthshire. He/

5. Reg. Minr., 30; RSS, 63, fo. 84v.

6. Cf. above, chapter VI.

7. St. A.K.S.R., 226.

8. Cf. Patrick, Statutes, 42, 185; Gordon Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, 14.

He had earlier recanted and been admitted reader at Muthill. His recantation must have been well before this accusation, for by April or May of 1564 the reader there was Alexander Gaw.(9)

Perhaps the more likely recusants were among the old church clergy who never conformed, and who may have continued to say mass privately for groups of people who did not wish to participate in the new church. In the parish of Dupplin, where the church doors had been forcibly closed to Protestant worship in 1564, Lord Oliphant may have employed and protected a priest who continued to say mass. The parson, sir John Ker, may have been available for such duties. One priest engaging in unauthorised activities within the diocese was sir Patrick Fergy, who, in 1564 was accused of preaching and administering the sacraments "wythowtyn lawful admissioun".(10) He had as well drawn the people of the parish (of Strogeith) to the "chapell of Tulebarne". This irregularity took place after the death of the strong Protestant William Murray of Tullibardine. His son, later the comptroller, took a more equivocal view of the new faith. When he replaced the zealous Protestant comptroller, Wishart of Pittarro, after the "Chaseabout Raid", he proved a more pliable servant of the queen.(11) Soon after his appointment the ministers of Lothian complained that they were unable to/

9. P.B. Andrew Drummond, fo. 61.

10. St. A.K.S.R., 226.

11. TB, Intro., xxvii; Gordon Donaldson, James V-VII, 119.

to obtain their stipends and found little satisfaction from Tullibardine.(12) Calderwood intimates that Murray even had Roman Catholic sympathies.(13)

A clear case of loyalty to the old church is exhibited by the vicar of Aberfoyle. By 1567 the vicarage was held by Henry Seton, son of Alexander Seton of Northrig. In that year he put the manse and glebe of Aberfoyle in feu to Malise Graham in Clas.(14) The Seton family was one of the more religiously conservative families in Scotland, and on 6 July, 1573, Henry Seton was deprived of the vicarage for failure to compear before the superintendent of Strathearn and subscribe the confession of faith.(15)

The most consistent signs of recusancy in the diocese occurred around the city of Dunblane itself. The influence of the Chisholm bishops seems to have assured that a large group of priests attached to the cathedral never conformed.(16) A variety of incidents in Dunblane indicate that some of these priests were actively recusant. Two cathedral chaplains, sir John Lermonth at the altar of St. Blaise, and sir James Finlayson at the altar of St. Nicolas, are both found at the horn in 1561 for failure to pay their thirds.(17) Lermonth may be the/

12. Knox, History, ii. 171, 176.

13. Calderwood, History, ii. 404; Cf. above, p. 117-118.

14. RMS, v. 143.

15. RSS, vi. 2027.

16. Cf. above, chapter VIII.

17. TB, 112.

the same priest whose brother was convicted for saying mass in 1572.(18) In 1567 Mr. Stephen Wilson, the parson of Glendevon, was put to the horn for failure to pay thirds and in 1571 and 1572 the archdeacon of Dunblane, Mr. James Chisholm, had the same experience.(19) That they owed the thirds confirms that they were not serving as Protestant clergy, while being at the horn may indicate a reluctance to support the new church.

Many cathedral benefice holders must have given at least lip service in 1573 to the new church and continued to hold their benefices. However, other priests demonstrated clearly their rejection of the Reformed faith. Sir William Blackwood was chaplain of Our Lady altar and a clerk of the consistory court of Dunblane in the 1550s.(20) In 1569 he had to produce the register book of Dunblane diocese before the lords of council, because he had failed to allow free access to it. He promised no longer to abuse the book.(21) In 1574 he was removed from his chaplainry because of his failure to subscribe the Reformed confession of faith.(22) Blackwood continued in his obstinacy, and in 1583 the Presbytery of Stirling brought a/

18. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. 31.

19. *RSS*, vi. 492, 1197, 1550, 1556.

20. *Dunb. Consistorial Act Book*, i. and ii., passim; David McRoberts, "Dunblane Cathedral Under the Chisholms", *SFDC*, 1971, 44.

21. *RPC*, ii. 22, 26.

22. *Stirlings of Keir*, no. 196.

a process of excommunication against him.(23) Blackwood was associated with the Catholic laird of Fintry and the Earl of Montrose in the 1580s (24), and was called an excommunicate in 1590.(25) He was still alive and holding to his faith in 1602.(26) Another priest included in the Presbytery's excommunication was sir William Drummond, probably a chaplain of the choir at the cathedral.(27) In August 1583 a summons was raised against James Blackwood and William Thomson in Dunblane to answer for eating and drinking with sir William Drummond and sir William Blackwood, both excommunicated.(28) Yet another priest of the Blackwood family, sir Thomas was a recusant. On 19 May, 1584, his brother James said that he had attempted to persuade sir Thomas to convert, and license was granted for James to go to his brother with a minister and an elder.(29) Recusancy appears to have been regarded as a particular problem in the diocese at this time, for in 1580 the minister of Dunblane had been brought to task by the general assembly because "there were many Papists and excommunicates dwelling in Dunblane, and no order put to them."(30)

It may have been some of the above named priests from Dunblane/

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- 23. Stirling Presbytery Records, 23 July, 1583.
 - 24. Ibid., 10 March, 1583/4.
 - 25. RPC, iv. 521.
 - 26. Peter J. Shearman, "Father Alexander McQuhirre, S.J.", Innes Review, vi. 44.
 - 27. Cf. above, p. 277.
 - 28. Stirling Presbytery Records, 27 August, 1583.
 - 29. Ibid., 19 May, 1584.
 - 30. BUK, 451.

Dunblane who had encountered serious trouble in 1569. As the regent Moray made a progress through the country, he stopped in Stirling to deal with "four preistis of Dumblayne", who had been condemned to death for saying mass "aganis the act of Parliament". Moray remitted the death sentence, but the priests were tied to the mercat cross and pilloried for an hour, after which their vestments were burned.(31)

These cases of recusancy among clerics, although not numerous, indicate that the cathedral establishment in Dunblane retained its conservative texture for many years after 1560. It appears that those who held lesser benefices at the Cathedral were the more likely to participate in active recusancy, while diocesan priests with more substantial benefices generally acquiesced to the demands of the new church. The more obstinate persisted in recusancy well past the time when the Reformed church could be said to be securely established, and their reasons for persistence were probably genuinely religious. On the other hand, some benefice holders who did not serve in the new church may have accepted the Reformation. For example, sir Thomas Chistison, vicar pensioner of Monzievaird and parson of Yetholm never conformed to serve in the new church, but must have accepted the new faith, for in his testament he directed that/

31. History of King James Sext, 40.

that he should be buried according to the order observed in the new church.(32) His brother, Dene Robert, a monk of Culross, likewise conformed but did not serve.

The second Bishop William Chisholm appears himself to have been actively busy in recusancy. In 1562 the Jesuit De Gouda reported that Chisholm had "confirmed many in the faith". When he left the country in 1567 he was accused of "saying and hering of mess, and causing ministrat the sacraments irreverentlie and undecentlie; as alswa passing furth of this cuntre without licence....and traffquand with the Papis Nunce and utheris his ministers".(33) His own participation in the Mass probably encouraged other priests in Dunblane to follow suit. As late as the 1580s he was feared by the Protestants for his ability to lead men in the "old dance".(34)

Chisholm seems to have had no difficulty in finding people to protect him on his return to the Dunblane area in 1587-1588. On 12 December, 1587, when he refused to speak to representatives of the Presbytery of Stirling, he was residing at the home of James Drummond, second son of David Lord Drummond and commendator of Inchaffray.(35) James Drummond had been more active politically than/

32. Edin. Tests., 29 July, 1579.

33. Papal Neg., 137; RPC, i. 569.

34. BOK, 721.

35. Stirling Presbytery Records, 12 December, 1587.

than his brother, Patrick Lord Drummond. He sat on Morton's council in the late 1570s, and later participated in the Ruthven Raid and signed the Raiders' bond for the defense of the king.(36) He and Patrick were charged to compear before the council in April 1584, and were forced to withdraw for fear of apprehension following the Raid of Stirling.(37) Thus James's Protestant credentials would seem secure. Perhaps his assistance to William Chisholm grew out of the support both had given to Mary Queen of Scots in earlier years, for James had signed the Hamilton Bond in 1568 (38), or, ^{perhaps it} was the result of the Scottish characteristic of the age which allowed major differences of opinion to be unaccompanied by personal animosity. It may also be that James assisted the bishop because of close ties between the two families.(39) It was James Drummond and James Chisholm of Cromlix who compeared for the bishop before the presbytery on 1 December, 1587, alleging that the bishop "haid ane disais fallin in his leg quhairthrow he myt nawayis travell to compeir". A suspension of the summons was desired, that in "the mantyme he may resolve himself gif he will profess our religione publictlye".(40)

For many years the bishop's family remained among those laymen/

36. RPC, ii. 606, 633, 673; iii. 507, note; Cal. Scot. Papers, vi. 178.

37. RPC, iii. 637; Cal. Scot. Papers, vii. 119.

38. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 650.

39. Cf. below. p.320-321.

40. Stirling Presbytery Records, 1 December, 1587.

laymen who refused to accept the new faith. James Chisholm of Cromlix, his brother, was regularly suspected by the Presbytery of Stirling for dealing with Papists.(41) In 1583/4 David Graham of Fintry, a recusant laird suspected of participating in Catholic plots, spent a night at the home of Chisholm of Cromlix. Called before the Presbytery of Stirling to explain the situation, Chisholm claimed that he allowed Fintry to stay partly because "he was desyrit be the auld laird of Fintrie to travell with him for persuading him to imbress the religioun professit be the king".(42) In July 1595 he appeared before the general assembly and "confessit with humilitie his offencis, namelie his apostasy from religioun for the quhilk he cravit God's mercie; and farther hie declarit that he professes with us the (haill) true religioun, renounceand Antichryst and all his errours, craveing from his heart to be receivit in the bosome of the Kirk", whereupon sentence of excommunication against him was relaxed.(43) It was laymen like Chisholm who in the early years of the Reformation may have sympathised with and shielded recusant priests. Other diocesan laymen were involved in the old faith as well. Oliphant lost control of the patronage of Dupplin in 1569, apparently because he refused to present a Protestant to the parsonage. The new parson, Dene William/

41. Ibid., passim.

42. Ibid., 10 March and 24 March, 1583/4.

43. BUK, 581.

William Melrose, incurred the wrath of Lord Oliphant two years later. Melrose alleged that on 4 August, 1571, a host of Oliphant's relatives and servants had come to the manse at Findogask "and thair maisterfullie destroyit and pat to the ground his haill chalmer", having wrought havoc to the extent that Melrose, "being ane minister of the Word of God, wes utterlie destitute of a place quhairin he mycht studie". The incident had thoroughly disrupted parish life and services "to the parochinaries great lose". Oliphant was ordered to pay £30 damages within twenty days and to allow Melrose to gather material for the repair of the manse from "the saidis Lordis landis maist ewist to the said William".(44) This action against Melrose may have had religious overtones, but Oliphant was also concerned with expanding his interests within the parish of Findogask, for the vicarage pertained to Mr. James Chisholm, archdeacon of Dunblane, who was also offended by the act.(45) In April 1576 Oliphant gained control of the manse and glebe by means of a tack by Mr. James Chisholm.(46)

Some laymen had material motives for recusancy. Walter Buchanan, brother of John Buchanan of Arnprior, had a Catholic Flemish wife. It was claimed that if she denied her faith, she would lose her inheritance.(47) When called before the presbytery/

44. RPC, xiv. 109-110.

45. Ibid., 110-111.

46. Oliphants in Scotland, nos. 149, 150, 151.

47. Stirling Presbytery Records, 10 January, 1586/7.

presbytery, Walter said he needed time to consider the matter, but would either accept the new faith or leave the country. However, a decision was regularly postponed. On 18 April 1587, he was excommunicated as a Papist, but by May he claimed he was attending the kirk at Kippen. On 26 September he promised to leave the country after 11 November, apparently opting for his wife's inheritance.(48) In February 1587/8 it was reported to the general asseembly that Walter and his Flemish wife, both "indurate Papists....hes causit a preist latelie to baptize their bairne".(49) Two months earlier it had been reported to the Presbytery of Stirling that John Buchanan of Arnprior had declared himself a Papist.(50)

There was thus a significant amount of recusancy within Dunblane diocese in the years following 1560, both among clerics and lay families. Some of it was brought to light by the diligence of the Presbytery of Stirling, which was particularly worried about Papists. However, when Bishop Chisholm was removed from his diocese in 1567, any real threat to reestablish the old faith in the area was dissipated. Perhaps the outstanding point was that recusancy seems to have had little effect on the new church clergy of the diocese, even those who had antecedents in the old church.

48. Ibid., dates as given.

49. BUK, 721.

50. Stirling Presbytery Records, 26 December, 1587.

KIN AND CLIENT DEPENDENCY

In a small area like Dunblane diocese families were regularly interrelated. The degree of influence family ties may have had on religious or political opinion cannot always be ascertained, and must be pursued warily. With the lay families studied, in some cases there seems to have been little family influence traceable, while in other cases such pressures are evident.

One example where the direct relationship of a marriage appears to have had little religious influence was that of James Stirling of Keir to Jean Chisholm daughter of Bishop Chisholm. There were many close business dealings between the bishop and Keir in the 1540s and 1550s. For example, in 1546 composition was paid for the confirmation of a charter on the lands of Beirholme, granted by Keir to the bishop.(51) He also granted lands to other members of the Chisholm family in 1546.(52) In 1549 Keir granted lands to the bishop and his natural son, Thomas (53), and in 1549/50 the chapter of the cathedral granted common lands to Keir. Keir's daughter, Helen, had a tutor in the person of the chancellor of the cathedral.(54) Despite this variety of relationships, from at least the parliament of August 1560, Stirling's contribution to the Reformed church/

51. TA, ix. 3.

52. Ibid., viii. 199, 204.

53. RSS, iv. 251.

54. Fraser, Stirlings of Keir, nos. 179, 182.

church demonstrates a definite break in religious opinion with the Chisholm family. This difference of commitment is especially interesting because Keir's estate was close to the city of Dunblane, and the family contacts were numerous.

In the same area of the diocese, John Earl of Menteith had married Marian Seton, daughter of George fourth Lord Seton. Her brother, George fifth Lord Seton, was an ardent Roman Catholic, but little Catholic influence seems to have been exerted on Menteith, who was a zealous Protestant. However, Marian may not have shared her husband's religious beliefs, for after Menteith's death, she married John tenth Earl of Sutherland, who was a Gordon and possibly a Catholic.(55)

Laurence third Lord Oliphant was married to Margaret, daughter of James Sandilands of Calder. Whether she was still alive in 1560 is unknown, and no evidence of any reforming influence by her has come to light, although the Sandilands family strongly supported the Reformation. Laurence fourth Lord Oliphant, who supported the old church, had a wife in the person of a daughter of George seventh Earl of Errol, another Roman Catholic family.(56)

In some instances the character and influence of a man's wife are more easily traced. William Murray of Tullibardine's wife, Catherine Campbell, was from the Campbells of Glenorchy,
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55. Peerage, viii. 339 et seq.

56. Peerage, vi. 548.

a family which strongly supported the Reformation.(57) Politically, Catherine proved a useful and resourceful ally to her husband, particularly during his exile in England.(58) Their son and heir, William, married Agnes Graham, daughter of the second Earl of Montrose, which family remained Roman Catholic. No direct religious influence has been traced here, but in light of the proximity of family estates, some may have been involved.

The marriage of James Stewart of Doune to Margaret Campbell, Argyll's sister, proved politically significant.(59) Doune may have been influenced to support the queen's party during the civil war period by Argyll's commitment and importance to that party. Mary herself looked on this family relationship as important, as demonstrated in 1568 by a letter she sent to Doune, asking him to "commend me to your wife, and solisit her broder to bi constant, y dout it nocht off yourself".(60) This family connection was strengthened by the marriage in 1580/1 of Doune's son James to Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of the deceased Regent Moray. Argyll had married her mother Agnes Keith, and it was said that he had caused his wife to give her daughter in marriage to the young Stewart.(61)

The effect of a wife and her family is perhaps most prominent in the life of Lillias Ruthven, wife of David Lord Drummond. In/

57. Cf. above, p. 177.

58. Cf. above, p. 57 et seq.

59. Cf. above, p. 104 et seq.

60. HMC, vi. 637.

61. Cal. Scot. Papers, x. 35.

In chapters II and III the importance of the Ruthven-Drummond relationship was noted, as was the strong character of Liliias. She is said to have brought up her family in the Reformed faith (62), and a few months after David Drummond's death in 1571, Patrick Lord Drummond had become a supporter of the king's party.(63) In 1572, when a group of noblemen met at Perth to discuss a dispute between Argyll and Atholl, Patrick Lord Drummond attended. One of the problems this group discussed was that of procuring the "old Lady Drummond" to deal more liberally with her son.(64) Liliias thus seems to have had control of family finances.

Although only a limited amount of evidence is available concerning the direct consequences of the marriages of these diocesan laymen, what information does exist suggests that the major factor was the power of the wife's family. This is clearly the case in the Doune-Argyll and Ruthven-Drummond relationships. In the cases of Liliias Ruthven and Catherine Campbell the women appear to have been capable persons in their own right, and thus exerted considerable personal influence. It may be that women, as typified by Liliias Ruthven, were apt to be more devoted to a religious cause.

Wider family relationships were periodically significant.
William/

62. Peerage, vii. 47.

63. Cal. Scot. Papers, iii. 895.

64. Ibid., iv. 242.

William Murray of Tullibardine, the comptroller, had a sister, Annabella, who was married to John Lord Erskine (later Earl of Mar). Knox blamed her for Erskine's failure to sign the book of discipline, saying "he has a very Jezebel to be his wife".(65) Later Annabella may have had some effect of her own, for she served as governess for the young King James.(66) It was reported in 1567 that Murray of Tullibardine had influence with Annabella's husband (67), thus giving significance to this family tie.

One of the more interesting aspects of kin relationships is the way in which families acted as a unit. Strong ties of kin and blood are familiar parts of Scottish history. Hamilton, Douglas, Stewart, and many other families played major factional roles throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Blood ties, and even ties as tenuous as the same name, as well as bonds of manrent, united groups of people from differing social and occupational backgrounds, so that they tended to act together.(68) It was said in 1558 that little justice was to be had in Scotland because of intense family loyalty, for men were prepared to stand by members of the family, as "those of the same family favour and honour it greatly".(69) Bonds of Friendship (70) were a common procedure whereby members of a family and/

65. Knox, History, i. 344.

66. APS, iii. 81; Cal. Scot. Papers, iii. 90; RPC, ii. 663-664.

67. Cf. above, p. 116-117.

68. Gordon Donaldson, James V-VII, 12, 14, 15; T.I. Rae, Administration of the Scottish Borders, 116.

69. Cal.Scot. Papers, i. 436.

70. Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents, 97, 140.

and their friends bound themselves together for protection from outsiders and common enemies, whereas by a bond of manrent a lesser man bound himself to a greater.(71)

During the 1550s an example of such loyalty was given by the Drummonds. George Drummond of Leidcrieff and his son were slain by the laird of Gormok and his accomplices in June 1554. The principal accused of the crime were William Chalmer of Drumlochie, John Butter of Gormok, and John Blair of Ardblair.(72) The sheriff of Perth (Ruthven) and Lord Drummond searched for the offenders with little success. Drummond's initial involvement was as steward of Strathearn, but he was later to become more deeply involved as chief of the Drummonds. Some of the accused were servants of Atholl, who was wary lest the Drummond-Ruthven relationship might prejudice the case for the accused. Atholl wrote to Mary of Guise regarding the situation, asking that there be an "onsuspect juge" at Perth, for Ruthven "wilbe haldin suspect in my lord Drummond's action".(73) This letter corroborates the evidence of incidents already noted, demonstrating the interdependence of these two families, and significance of family loyalty. In August 1554 John Butter of Gormok was/

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71. An example of a bond of friendship in Dunblane diocese is one made among the Murrays to Tullibardine in 1586. (Stuart of Dalguise Maniments, 1/73a) A bond of manrent was made by Neil McKinness and members of his family to Lord Drummond, 20 September, 1560. (Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 6)
72. HMC, x. Appendix i. 87, no. 4; Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, 1. 367*
73. Scottish Correspondence, 384, 10 June, 1554.

was denounced rebel and put to the horn for failing to underlie the law.(74) However, moves for reconciliation had begun, and the three accused offered to do penance and make financial restitution to the family of the deceased.(75) Reconciliation was dealt with through Lord Drummond, as head of the family (76), but the initial offer was rejected. William Chalmer of Drumlochie, with his family and servants, made an offer of his own to do honour to Lord Drummond and the relicts of the deceased, to give his son in marriage to the deceased Leidcricheff's daughter, and to give a bond of manrent to Lord Drummond. This offer was accepted, and on 5 December, 1558, a bond of manrent was subscribed by Chalmer because Lord Drummond and other kin and friends of Leidcricheff "hes remittit and forgevin to me thair slauchteris". The bond was made to Lord Drummond as "chief to the said umquhile George and William his sone".(77) The importance of family ties and the eminence of the head of the family are evident in these events. Not all of those involved reached agreement with Drummond, for in 1555 Patrick Blair in Ardblair and Robert Smyth in Drumlochie were convicted and beheaded.(78) Thus men of the same family name owed a certain loyalty/

74. Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, i. 367*.

75. HMC, i. Appendix i. 87

76. Ibid., 88.

77. Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, i. 373*; HMC, x. Appendix i. 88, no. 7.

78. Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, i. 374*.

loyalty to the head of that family, and were counted as being subject to him.

While Stewart of Doune had an important kin tie through his wife's family, his own relationships as a Stewart proved singularly useful to him. He had risen to national prominence as a messenger for Mary Queen of Scots.(79) With the rise to power of James VI's cousin, Esme Stewart (later Duke of Lennox), Doune again gained em_inence. Within two months of Esme Stewart's arrival in Scotland in September 1579, Doune received grants of land in Menteith (80), and was chosen as a member of the privy council.(81) The English agent, Robert Bowes, was convinced that Doune's presence on the council was due to his loyalty to Esme, to whom Doune was "wholly devoted".(82) Doune was counted among the political friends of Esme (83), and had as well a personal friendship with him. Shortly before his death, Esme wrote from Paris to Doune, asking him to show favour to his son still in Scotland, and bidding Doune an "honest guid night". The letter was signed "V're tres affectione amy".(84) It was in November, 1581, during Esme Stewart's period of power, that James Stewart was created Lord Doune.(85) With the fall of Esme Stewart, Doune receded from the national scene, but rose again/

79. Cf. above, p. 97 et seq.

80. RSS, vii. 2099; RMS, iv. 2924; APS, iii. 127, 128.

81. RPC, iii. Intro., xiii., 115; APS, iii. 150.

82. Cal. Scot. Papers, v. 591.

83. Ibid., 660.

84. HMC, vi. 637.

85. RMS, v. 280; APS, iii. 234-235.

again when James Stewart, Earl of Arran, assumed a position of power after the removal of the Ruthven Raiders. In 1584 Doune became the collector of the thirds (86), probably assuming that office sometime in August. On 27 August William Stewart, a writer, was appointed clerk to the collector general, and Robert Stewart, a macer in the court of session, was appointed solicitor in the collectory.(87) Thus Doune brought several family members with him to his new position.

The influence of family ties was one of several important factors affecting people during the Reformation period, and political and religious opinions may have vied with family loyalty. There were many connections between the Drummonds and Chisholms, but David Lord Drummond's sons were Protestant, while the Chisholms for many years remained Catholic. Conflicting loyalties can be noted in 1587, when Bishop William Chisholm returned to the diocese. James Drummond, the commendator of Inchaffray, was a convinced Protestant, but he allowed the bishop to stay at his home.(88) The explanation is probably found in family ties, for James was married to Jean Chisholm, daughter of James Chisholm of Cromlix and niece of the bishop. This family tie does not seem to have affected Drummond's religious/

86. Cal. Scot. Papers, vi. 606, 622.

87. RSS, viii. 1473-1474. These references were provided by Professor Donaldson from material in preparation for the forthcoming volume of the Register of the Privy Seal.

88. Cf. above, p. 308.

religious views, but it did mean that he was willing to support the family to the point of opposing the Presbytery of Stirling. Several other Chisholm-Drummond ties might be noted. James Chisholm of Cromlix himself was married to Janet Drummond, daughter of John Drummond of Innerpeffray. In 1565 they had alienated the lands of the barony of Innerpeffray to Lord Drummond.(89) One of the first Bishop William Chisholm's daughters, Elizabeth, was married to one James Drummond.(90) In 1551 Lord Drummond had granted the lands of Bordland in Menteith in liferent to Elizabeth.(91) The Drummond laird of Petyallan was married to Janet Chisholm, and Alexander Drummond of Megour was married to one Elizabeth Chisholm.(92)

A further aspect of unit family action was client dependency. The Burdons of the Balquhiddy area appear to have been very much dependent on the Drummonds. Lord Drummond, as steward of Strathearn and Balquhiddy, was assisted in 1561 by John Burdon, bailie of Balquhiddy.(93) The incidence of Burdons working in concert with the Drummonds recorded in the Drummond Castle Papers is significant enough to suggest that the families were closely connected. When David Drummond sat on his barony courts in the 1530s, those courts were comprised chiefly of Drummonds/

89. RSS, v. 2205.

90. P.B. Andrew Drummond, fo. 52v.

91. RSS, iv. 1174.

92. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 372v; Feu Charters of Kirklands, ii. fo. 152.

93. P.B. Andrew Drummond, fos. 3 and 4.

Drummonds and Burdons.(94) The Burdons may have been affiliated to the Drummonds by a bond of manrent, and their close association indicates that the former were dependent clients of the latter.

Another case of client dependency within the diocese is found with the Setons of Tullibody. In general, the Setons followed the lead of Lord Seton and remained conservative in religion, as demonstrated in the case of Seton of Northrig.(95) However, the laird of Tullibody was a client of the Lords Erskine. Before 1545 Walter Seton of Tullibody was married to Elizabeth Erskine, said to be a daughter of John fifth Lord Erskine, providing a basis for dependence of the smaller family on the larger.(96) In 1569 the Earl of Mar was recorded as curator of James Seton of Tullibody, Walter's son.(97) Later evidence indicates that this dependency was continuing. In 1583 David Erskine, commendator of Inchmahome, leased the teinds of the parsonage of Leny to John Seton of Tullibody for 80 merks.(98) David Erskine had been a supporter of the Ruthven Raid, but received a remission, as did James Seton of Tullibody and Robert his brother.(99) Robert Seton, son of Walter Seton of Tullibody/

94. Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 1; Cf. Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 81v-82.

95. Cf. above, p. 303.

96. George Seton, A History of the Family of Seton, 340; RMS, iii. 3119.

97. RMS, iv. 1903.

98. RBM, ii. 364.

99. RSS, viii. 1539, 1595. These references were provided by Professor Donaldson from material in preparation for the forthcoming volume of the Register of the Privy Seal.

Tullibody, was vicar of Logie from 1562. In 1570-1572 the Earl of Mar had remitted the thirds of the vicarage to Robert, who, contrary to Seton of Northrig, was not deprived in 1573. Obviously the Setons of Tullibody followed the lead of the Erskines in matters of religion.

Before the Reformation, certain major benefices had virtually become the possessions of a family. Since 1531 the Erskines had held the commenda of Inchmahome (100), while Culross was in the hands of the Colvilles from approximately the same time.(101) Both of these institutions were eventually erected into temporal lordships for members of those families. The last three Roman Catholic bishops of Dunblane had been Chisholms, giving the family continuous possession of that office for eighty years, while three Drummonds had been deans of the cathedral in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Dean Roger Gordon's predecessor had been Dean William Gordon, and the treasurer-ship was held by Murrays from 1507 for over one hundred years.(102)

Smaller benefices were subject to the same type of encroachment. Certain families consistently held monks' or canons' portions at the diocesan religious houses. Christisons and Turnbills at Culross, Monts at Inchmahome, and Gardinars and Murrays/

100. RBM, i. 522 et seq.

101. Letters of James V, 190, 195-196; Exch. Rolls, xvi. 63, 70; W. Maziere Brady, The Epis. Succession in Eng., Scot., and Ire., i. 171.

102. Med. Fasti, 77-78, 82, 86-87.

Murrays at Inchaffray indicate that those families enjoyed an interest in monastic portions.(103)

A similar pattern is evidenced in some parochial benefices. At St. Madoes Mr. Alan Balvaird was parson in 1541, succeeded by 1550 by Mr. David Balvaird, who had been in the parish before assuming the office of parson.(104) The parsonage of Abernethy was held by Cardinal David Beaton and then resigned to his illegitimate son, Mr. Alexander Beaton.(105) James Wilson was parson of Glendevon from 1512 until 1543/4, when William Chisholm was presented to the parsonage.(106) When Chisholm resigned the benefice in 1566, Mr. Stephen Wilson was presented.(107) The vicar of Aberfoyle in 1527 was George Sinclair, who was apparently succeeded by sir Stephen Sinclair.(108) Robert Wemyss was vicar of Abernethy in 1534/5 and 1543/4 (109); in 1572 the reader there, John Wemyss, was presented to that benefice. Sir William Blackwood was tacksman of the vicarage of Auchterarder from at least 1551 until after 1571/2, and in 1587 another William Blackwood was presented to the vicarage.(110) The family of Scot was much involved at Monzie, where in the 1550s a Scot was factor to the vicar. In 1573 William Scot was presented/

103. Cf. above, pp. 208, 209, 224, 226, 244, 245.

104. Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 160; P.B. A.Gaw, no. 69.

105. Cf. above, p. 266.

106. RSS, i. 2390; Cal. Charters, 1105; RSS, iii. 603.

107. Further documentation of diocesan clergy will be found in appendix. II.

108. SFDC, 1960, 112.

109. Cal. Charters, 1105; Abercairny Muniments, 1/119.

110. RSS, 56, fo. 157v.

sented to the vicarage. The family held an assedation on the vicarage teinds in the 1550s.(111) Sir John Hammyll was vicar pensioner of Dunning before 1566, and in 1569 his nephew Mr. John Hammyll was vicar. At Fossoway sir James Blackwood was vicar pensioner in the early 1550s, and by 1571 sir Adam Blackwood held that benefice. Denes David and Andrew Hegy both seem to have been vicars pensioner of Kincardine.

Lesser positions also fell within the sphere of family interest. When sir William Drummond came to the choir of Dunblane cathedral sometime after 1552, he seems to have been succeeding sir Malcolm Drummond. A similar situation may have prevailed with sir Alexander and Mr. William Anderson.(112) Sir Robert Brown resigned the chaplainry of St. Mungo at Culross to sir John Brown on 3 May, 1549.(113) The curate at Fowlis-Wester in 1546/7 was sir John Murray, and by 1551/2 it was sir David Murray.(114)

These examples of family interest in parochial revenues indicate the degree of local involvement in the established church. This interest often continued after 1560. Many families, some the same as those mentioned above, contributed men to the local clergy of the new church. For example, Murray of Tullibardine was for many years an English and Protestant sympathiser/

111. Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i, fo. 82.

112. Cf. above, pp. 276-277.

113. RSS, iv. 231.

114. Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 165; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 146v.

sympathiser. There were many Murrays in Strathearn and Menteith, and on the whole they seem to have followed the lead of the head of the family. Three Murrays became readers within the diocese; Dene Alexander Murray at Kinkell, sir David Murray at Fowlis Wester, and James Murray at Strowan, where the local laird was Murray of Strowan. To these three may be added sir David Murye at Auchterarder, bringing the total to four readers, all in the area of Tullibardine's influence. The less common name of Murye or Murie is a form of Murray sometimes found in Perthshire.(115) The other diocesan family which contributed four clergy to the Reformed church was that of Scot. A name readily associated with the Borders, there were Scotts in Dunblane diocese; for example there was a Scot laird of Monzie.(116) Given the family's involvement at Monzie before 1560, it is interesting to note that James Scot was a reader there by 1567, and by 1568 William Scot was reader there, serving until 1590. A different William Scot served at Callander, and sir Thomas Scot was reader at Findogask.

Several other families contributed more than one Protestant cleric. Sir Andrew Drysdale was reader at Tullibody, and Mr. Alexander Drysdale reader at Tillicoultry. Although the latter held a benefice at Leny, his origin was probably in the south-east of the diocese, where he served and where the name is common.(117)/

115. George F. Black, The Surnames of Scotland, 621.

116. Peerage, vii. 44.

117. Black, op. cit., 223-223; The Scottish Antiquary, viii. 185-186.

common. Mr. Alexander was a servitor of David Erskine, commendator of Inchmahome, and Drysdales were regularly associated with the Erskines and the Colvilles of Culross abbey, both Protestant families.(118) There were two Balvairs, another local family (119), serving as Protestant clergymen before 1570. Sir Alexander Balvaird was reader at Logie, while Mr. David Balvaird was reader and later minister at St. Madoes. Two members of the family of Wemyss served in the northeastern part of the diocese adjacent to Fife, an area where the name was common.(120) Patrick Wemyss was minister at several parishes, including Dron and Exmagirdle, and John Wemyss was reader at Abernethy.

One other family is of particular significance, that of Drummond. Lord Drummond himself made a wary contribution to the Reformation, but the family as a whole contributed rather more. Two important clergymen in this diocese before 1570 were Drummonds; William Drummond was an exhorter with considerable responsibility, and Mr. Thomas Drummond was a minister at Dunblane by 1564. Also, John Burdon, whose family were clients of the Drummonds, served as reader at Balquhiddie. Thus, the Drummonds can be considered to have contributed three men to the diocesan Reformed clergy. Others of the family served in the/

118. Cf. RSS, vii. 2017; Cardross Writs, 344.

119. Black, op. cit., 51.

120. Ibid., 808.

the same area but outwith the diocese, for example, sir William Drummond was reader at Cargill.(121)

Some important Protestant families of the diocese, such as Grahams, and Colvilles, did not contribute any recorded men during this decade to the Protestant clergy. Two of the strongest Roman Catholic families, Chisholms and Oliphants, contributed no Reformed clergymen. Their lack of contribution is important when viewed in conjunction with the strong conservative reaction of both the clerical Chisholms, who had contributed significantly to the pre-Reformation diocesan clergy, and the locally powerful Lord Oliphant, who openly opposed the Reformed ministry.

The names of several other Protestant clerics indicate their local origin. Some have names associated with the district. Sir Duncan Comrie was reader at Comrie, where, from the evidence of the Dunblane Testaments, it is clear that much of the family lived. For example, Comries were farmers of the teinds of Comrie.(122) Sir Thomas Dunning, whose surname was probably derived from the place of Dunning (123), served in the adjacent parish of Abruthven. It is said that the Redocks took their name from the area of Reidheuch in the parish of Tullicheddill.(124) Thus Thomas Redock was probably a local man. The name of Stirling is/

121. Cf. below, p. 340-342.

122. Dunb. Tests., ii. passim; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 253; BA, fo. 312.

123. Black, op. cit., 230.

124. Ibid., 686.

is derived from the burgh just south of the diocese, and Men-teith from the district of that name.(125) There are some highland names to be found among diocesan Reformed clerics. John McCathren and John McHarmik served at Aberfoyle, while John McCorquodale served at Balquhidder, Killin and Strathfillan.

Several other names occur with significant frequency in Dunblane diocese to assume that clerics with those names were local men. Gaw is common to Perthshire, while Glass and Hutsoun occur with some regularity in the Dunblane diocese area.(126) Richard Differis probably came from the Kinfauns area and was also a local man.(127)

Enough surnames of the early Reformed clerics of Dunblane diocese were connected with local families to demonstrate that the new church drew its men from places near at hand. Coupled with the fact that many old church clerics served as Protestant readers in Dunblane diocese, the support for the new church given by local families seems to have been an important element in the growth and stability of the Reformed parochial system.

125. Ibid., 749, 608.

126. Ibid., 285, 312, 372.

127. Cf. above, p. 188.

CRITERIA OF RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVE

The sincerity of a man's religious beliefs is a personal and variable thing, not lending itself to judgment by historical evidence. Although the way a man was committed to one side or the other may remain a mystery, where his commitment lay may be judged within the context of events. Much of the evidence about the religious commitments of the heads of diocesan families is of an inferential nature. Several factors point to their acceptance or rejection of the new faith, among them their participation in various political activities, their attitudes toward the ecclesiastical institutions of both old and new church, and opinions about them expressed by their contemporaries.

Like many lairds, Stirling of Keir was not significant enough to have been much involved in major political events prior to 1560. The first known commitment which places him among the Reformers is his attendance at the Reformation Parliament of 1560, for it was those lairds who felt a concern about the place of the new church who attended. His support of Mary Queen of Scots during the civil war period seems to have had no religious overtones.⁽¹²⁸⁾ Keir was an ardent supporter of new church institutions, as demonstrated by his participation in the activities of the general assembly in 1566/

128. Cf. above, p. 117 et seq.

1566 and 1569.(129) This participation continued, and in 1581 Keir was one of those appointed to "travell diligentlie in erection of Presbyteries"(130); he was later to participate in the work of the Presbytery of Stirling.(131) At least one man named Stirling became a new church clergyman before 1570; Dene William Stirling. Soon after that date Mr. William Stirling was minister at Aberfoyle.(132)

Keir was not above using old church revenues for his own benefit. When sir William Blackwood was deprived as chaplain of Our Lady Altar in Dunblane cathedral, Keir, as patron of that altar, used the revenue of this chaplainry to support his son James who was at the "schulis".(133) John Burdon, the minister of Balquhadder, claimed to have been assigned the income of the altar as part of his stipend for 1575, and complained that "the lard of Keir hes gottin suspensioun of my letters and is gevin(it) to his sone as ane bursarie".(134) Although Keir was prepared to oppose a Protestant minister in order to retain ecclesiastical income for his family, his overall contribution to the Reformed church demonstrates that he was clearly among those who stood with the Reformers.

Another laird whose commitment seems to have been firmly with/

129. BUK, 83, 145.

130. Ibid., 526-527.

131. Stirling Presbytery Records, passim.

132. Cf. appendix II.

133. Stirlings of Keir, no. 196.

134. Assignations, 1576, fo. 33 insert.

with the Reformers was Murray of Tullibardine. Continued association with the Protestant English from 1544 indicates that he had sympathy with their political and religious aims.(135) His journey in 1550 to France with others having Protestant and English loyalties demonstrates that his sympathies were apparent to his countrymen. During the revolution of 1559-1560, Tullibardine's active participation with the militant rebels reenforces this view.(136) He held a leading position among the Reformers, and his son Andrew was suggested as one of the hostages to be held in England to insure Scottish loyalty.(137) Tullibardine attended and was one of the lords of the articles for the Reformation Parliament.(138) At his death a contemporary chronicler stated that he died a Protestant.(139) At least four members of the Murray family entered the Protestant clergy of the diocese before 1570. Murray's religious commitment was definitely to the Reformed church.

Associated with Tullibardine during the Protestant revolution was John Graham, Earl of Menteith. He too went to France in 1550, and in 1559 he appeared with Tullibardine as one of those who had forsaken Mary of Guise and joined the congregation. (140) From that point there is no doubt about his zeal for either/

135. Cf. above, chapter II.

136. Cf. above, p. 78, 84 et seq.

137. CSP (Foreign), 1559-1560, 120, 485 (10 and 14).

138. APS, ii. 526; Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 879.

139. Chronicle of Forthingall, Black Book of Taymouth, 131.

140. Diurnal, 50; Cf. above. p. 78.

either the military cause or the new faith. He was a leader of the Reformers' military party, and his son George was one of those hostages chosen by the English.(141) He too attended the Reformation Parliament and seems to have played a relatively significant role in it.(142) Menteith was active in the institutions of the new church. When approached by the general assembly about the "pure labourers of the ground" on his estates, he promised to do his best to ease their situation, and he demonstrated a concern for the necessity of a Gaelic-speaking minister for the Menteith area.(143) He was considered a leading Protestant, and his name consistently appeared as such on contemporary lists of men and their loyalties. Perhaps the most telling comment about Menteith's religious perspective came from the English agent Randolph, who had no doubt that he was "one of the most zealous protestants in this country."(144)

Laurence third Lord Oliphant appears to have remained loyal to the Catholic Church throughout his life. Although captured by the English at Solway Moss, he never complied with their desires when back in Scotland.(145) During the revolution of 1559-1560, he was basically inactive, giving only a vague promise to comply with the new order.(146) His lack of interest/

141. Cf. above, p. 84.

142. Cf. above, p. 88.

143. BUK, 47, 49.

144. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 153; Cf. CSP, (Foreign), 1559-1560, 392; Hamilton Papers, ii. appendix, xxxix.

145. Cf. above, pp. 49-50.

146. Cf. above, p. 86.

interest in the Reformation is suggested by his absence from the Reformation Parliament, while his open hostility to it is demonstrated by the suppression of Protestant worship in the parishes of Dupplin and Aberdalgie in 1564. This conservative attitude was continued by his son, who failed to present a Reformed cleric to the parsonage of Dupplin in 1569, and who destroyed the manse of the minister of Findogask in 1571.(147) The Oliphants consistently appeared as Catholics on contemporary lists, indicating that there was no doubt about the family's beliefs.(148)

The religious perspectives of the three remaining laymen studied are less easily determined. There is some indication that Blackadder of Tulliallan had contact with the castilians of St. Andrews in the late 1540s.(149) His main concern with the old church seems to have been financial, as demonstrated by his dealings with David Paniter. Little respect seems to have been given by the laird to old church property.(150) He failed to attend the Reformation Parliament, and there is little record of any participation in the new church. Despite this seeming lack of concern for the new faith, other incidents in his life point to a Protestant commitment. Moray's call to Tulliallan in 1565 to attend the day of law for Bothwell suggests/

147. Cf. above, p. 107.

148. Cf. Papal Neg., 255; Cal. Scot. Papers, iii. 601; v. 397; Cf. Claude Nau, History of Mary Stewart, appendix ii. 152.

149. RSS, iv. 1877.

150. Cf. above. p. 73.

suggests that the Earl felt he could count on the laird's sympathy (151), and Moray attempted to inject an Evangelical fervour into his supporters at that time.(152) Although patron of the parish of Tulliallan, there seems to have been no attempt to suppress Protestant worship there, such as Oliphant attempted at Dupplin. Patrick Blackadder, the parson of Tulliallan, did not become a Reformed cleric, but he probably subscribed the confession of faith. From at least 1577 Tulliallan's son John had a tutor in the person of Dene Thomas McBreik, a canon of Cambuskenneth.(153) The commendator of Cambuskenneth was a Protestant Erskine, and McBreik was probably the reader at Tullibody by 1576.(154) Presumably the laird would not have entrusted his son to the tutorship of a Protestant clergyman if he had not accepted the new faith. Tulliallan's relations with the minister of the parish were not always cordial. In 1577 he brought an action against John Dykis, the settlement of which by the general assembly required the "travells and persuasion of the brether appointed thereto".(155) Yet it is significant that the matter was settled within the ecclesiastical structure of the new church. If Blackadder was not one of the/

151. Cf. above, p. 109.

152. Knox, History, ii. 144.

153. Edinb. Tests., 28 May, 1580.

154. Assignations, 1576, fo. 36v.

155. BUK, 388.

the more zealous supporters of the Reformation, he nonetheless seems to have accepted it.

Having joined with the Lords of the Congregation in October 1559, James Stewart of Doune continued with the Reformers.(156) This religious commitment was probably reinforced by his marriage to Argyll's sister, but that marriage also entailed a greater tie to the Queen's party during the civil war period. From the time of his visit to France in 1560/1 with Lord James Stewart, Doune seems to have been in favour with both Mary and her half-brother. His ambassadorial journeys for Mary appear to have been political, with no religious overtones.(157)

In the early years following the Reformation, contemporary judgment on Doune's Protestant loyalties is unanimous. People espousing such divergent views as did Knox and the Cardinal of Lorraine agreed on that.(158) The English agent Throckmorton seems to have found no trace of Catholic sympathy in Doune, and during the later civil war period, when espousing Mary's cause, Doune was described as a Protestant.(159) In later years, when Doune was associated with Esme Stewart, he had dealings with men who were involved in Catholic plots, such as a French ambassador, Mainville, and the laird of Fintry. Even/

156. Cf. above, p. 82 et seq.

157. Cf. above, p. 102.

158. Knox, History, i. 335; Papal Neg., 87; Cf. above, p. 102.

159. Cal. Scot. Papers, iii. 601.

Even then, the English recognised him as one of those "known to have been great hinderers to the amity" (with England), but he was not accused of being a Catholic. The English agent, Robert Bowes, had a definite dislike for Doune, but apparently only because of his willingness to cooperate with the French.(160)

Doune appears to have given political affairs primary consideration and his Protestantism was of a different nature from that of his neighbors, John Earl of Menteith, Stirling of Keir, and the commendator of Inchmahome. Unlike Menteith and Keir, he does not appear to have participated in the work of the general assembly. Keir and David Erskine had attachments to the later Presbyterian movement, but Doune's loyalties were to the Stewarts and France. When the Ruthven Raiders were overthrown, Doune's second son, Henry, received the gift of the commenda of Inchmahome, for David Erskine had been escheated.(161) Yet Doune reflects the divisions developing in the Protestant movement, and his commitment to the new faith seems to have been real enough.

David Lord Drummond's religious perspective is particularly difficult to assess. He appears to have moved warily in both political and religious matters. In the 1540s and 1550s he seems clearly to have been influenced by the Ruthvens.(162)

Most/

160. Cal. Scot. Papers, vi. 468.

161. RMS, v. 720; Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 105v.

162. Cf. above, chapter II.

Most of his appearances on the battlefield were in the company of his brother-in-law.(163) This Ruthven influence, as exercised through Liliass Ruthven, must have been consistently Protestant. The general loyalty Drummond exhibited to Mary of Guise and Mary Queen of Scots was probably for political reasons. Drummond was involved with the Reformers in only a limited way; he was negligent in meeting the demands of the Reformers in 1560 for his support, and he put in a belated appearance at the Reformation Parliament.(164) His participation in the new church seems to have been on a minimal basis, and interest in ecclesiastical institutions appears to have been primarily financial, particularly with Inchaffray. In 1561 Drummond was on a list of "hornaris" for failure to make payment of some of his thirds. Horning was the standard procedure taken against those who fell behind in their payments, and probably has little religious significance. After David Drummond's death, Liliass Ruthven was granted a pension of £222/4/5, payable from Inchaffray by her son, James.(165) At the time of David's death in May 1571, the thirds of Inchaffray were remitted. There appears to have been some difficulty over this revenue, for it was said that Liliass "hes bene evill handlit/

163. As in 1543/4 at Leith, 1544 at Perth, 1545 in a raid on the English, 1547 At Perth, 1559 at Perth, and 1565 on the "Chaseabout Raid".

164. Cf. above, p. 90.

165. TB, 63, 69, 135; RSS, vi. 1234.

handlit be the bischope of Galloway thair anent".(166) Liliias promised to make payment for the following year by 25 March.

Drummond, although not the most active Reformer, was generally listed as a Protestant in contemporary evaluations of religious loyalty.(167)

It has been suggested that the silencing in 1565 of Mr. Thomas Drummond, minister at Dunblane, was at the instance of the "powerful Roman Catholic family of Drummond incensed by the reformed preaching of this man".(168) The assumption that Drummond was Catholic

doesnot seem to be very sound. To begin with, this incident is known only because of a cryptic reference by the English agent Randolph, who, at the time, seems to have feared a general purge of the Protestant clergy by Mary. He said that the Preachers "look daily to their lives".(169) Randolph may have been overly concerned about the question of religion at this point, for Moray had just left the council and was attempting to rekindle the militant Protestantism of 1560.(170) Mary's bipartisan support three months later during the "Chaseabout Raid" indicates that most/

166. Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 3.

167. Cf., Papal Neg., 256; Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 480.

168. SFDC, 1963, 60.

169. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 174.

170. Cf. above, p. 109.

most of the country did not see Moray's revolt in religious terms.(171) It is curious that such a drastic step as silencing a notable preacher appears to have gone unrecorded elsewhere. Perhaps Randolph's record of the incident was coloured by his own fears. There may have been other reasons for Mr. Thomas Drummond's silencing. It is possible that his health was not good, for he was deceased by 1569, when the Reformed church granted his widow £100.(172) His widow was still alive in 1592 (173), so Thomas seems to have died while a young man.

It also seems unlikely that Lord Drummond had ~~shown~~ the inclination ~~or influence~~ to silence a Protestant. Surely the Reformed church would have raised a militant protest at such interference. As noted in the discussion on kin and client dependency, there were at least three men with Drummond connections serving as Protestant clergy before 1570 within the diocese, and Drummond made no known attempt to silence them. Neither does he appear to have been disturbed by the fact that some Inchaffray canons were serving Protestant clerics.

Significant to Lord Drummond's attitude toward the Protestant clergy was his relationship with sir William Drummond, reader at Cargill by 1561. William was the son of John Drummond in Auchinglen and Janet Dunning.(174) As early as 1530 sir William/

171. Cf. above, p. 110; Gordon Donaldson, Mary Queen of Scots, "The Queen's Party", in the press.

172. TB, 254.

173. Deeds, 47, fo. 389.

174. Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 7.

William appears as a witness to a document, styled chaplain.(175) By 1541/2 he was styled "chaplane and servand" to David Lord Drummond.(176) On 18 February, 1540/1, a contract had been drawn between sir William and Lord Drummond, whereby the former was bound to be the latter's servant for life, and to receive £10 yearly.(177) This arrangement was disrupted by 1545/6, for at that time a notarial instrument narrates that Lord Drummond requested sir William and his brother, Andrew, to produce what titles they might have on the lands of Auchinglen and Kynbroke, for they were "gottin in abscwyr and hyd manner... and my lord was desaitfulle default thairin becawse he could noythur reid nor writ hymself".(178) Sir William had been given Lord Drummond's "full traist" and possessed his seal, but appears to have taken advantage of his position. Sir William and Andrew refused Lord Drummond's "reasonabyll desiris", and Drummond dispensed with their services. In March 1545/6 Janet Dunning, sir William's mother, granted a receipt to Lord Drummond for goods taken from the house and yard at Auchinglen, saying that these things were solely hers; sir William had been removed by Drummond's servants. This dispute continued, and in 1556 judges arbitral at Muthill dealt with an action of "spowlzit and viktioun" brought by sir William against Lord Drummond, deciding/

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175. Ibid., Box 2/Bundle 4.
 176. Ibid., loc. cit.
 177. Ibid., Box 2/Bundle 7.
 178. Ibid., loc. cit.

deciding that the lands belonged to Lord Drummond. An agreement was reached whereby he was to pay a £20 yearly pension to sir William for "all the daies of his lifytyme". The judges also willed that Lord Drummond be a "gud cheiffe and maister to the said sir William", and put him into his chaplainry of Inner-peffray and in receipt of the emoluments of the vicarage of Cargill, which Drummond had obviously withheld.(179) As Drummond was baron of Cargill, where sir William was vicar, and with the provision of the above pension, there would seem to have been considerable leverage Lord Drummond could apply. However, as sir William was a reader by 1561 and continued to serve for many years, little pressure seems to have been used. In 1566 sir William granted a feu on the glebe and kirklands of the vicarage to Lord Drummond for a sum of 300 merks.(180) With these many contacts between sir William and his chief, it seems evident that both the chief and his family were committed to Protestantism, and therefore he would have no inclination to silence Mr. Thomas Drummond.

Another indication of Drummond's acquiescence in the new church is found in his testament. One of the witnesses at the writing of Drummond's will on 20 April, 1571, was sir John Hume, exhorter at Madderty and a former chaplain at Inchaffray.(181) Hume/

179. Ibid., loc. cit., Andrew remitted his part in the suit on 24 June, 1556.

180. Drummond Castle Papers, Cargill Writs, 14/23.

181. Edin. Tests., 30 July, 1574.

Hume is among others styled "my servands".

Evidence that Drummond was enthusiastic for the Reformation is lacking, but a closer inspection of his career reveals an association with several Protestants, including those in his own family, and an acceptance of the new church clergy. There is no evidence that he took an action directly counter to the wishes of the Reformed church.

CONCLUSION

The Reformation in Dunblane diocese was not dependant on any one outstanding leader, and the Strathearn-Menteith area essentially followed the lead given by political and religious leaders of national stature. Yet the various groups of persons discussed above contributed to the development of new ideas and ultimately the new church within the diocese, which had a distinctly local character. While national attention may have been focused on Knox, Lord James Stewart, Chatelherault, and other prominent members of the Congregation, signs of an indigenous reforming movement were developing in Dunblane diocese. Long before matters reached the crucial stage of militant revolution, men with roots in the diocese were contributing to an atmosphere of change in religious and political alliance. Notably around Tullibody, where the local laird's brother, Dene Alexander Seton, had preached a doctrine of reform in the 1530s, there/

there was prolonged interest in new religious ideas. Sir Thomas Cocklaw's breach of canon law, his subsequent flight, and association with other reformers from parishes and religious houses near at hand, suggests that the new doctrine was by no means strange to local parishioners. Murray of Tullibardine's long association with English and Protestant sympathisers furthers the impression that people in rural areas were aware that changes in society were occurring.

When the revolution came, several local leaders, including Tullibardine, Menteith, and Drummond, contributed to the cause of the Reformers, the first two occupying roles of leadership within the party. Drummond's part during this period demonstrates the conflicting loyalties faced by men of consequence, for he seems to have felt an attachment to his Protestant brother-in-law, Ruthven, as well as a loyalty to the established government and Mary of Guise. Family connections may have been the deciding factor for some, such as James Stewart of Doune, whose substantial advance in national status following the Reformers' victory owed much to his Stewart relationships. Religious motivation seems to have varied widely, but for a laird like Stirling of Keir, a break with the bishop and an active share in the affairs of the new church, suggest that religious commitment could be a primary motive for alignment.

From the "Chaseabout Raid" through the civil war period, a new set of loyalties emerged among diocesan laymen. Religion was/

was no longer the deciding factor, but loyalty to the queen or Moray divided men along more traditional and factional lines. Some diocesan laymen who clearly supported the new church enlisted in the queen's party for reasons that were political or personal.

Within the diocesan parochial structure of the old church, where appropriation had removed the bulk of teinds from the parishes, the cure of souls had passed in most cases to vicars or curates. The best educated old church clergy in the diocese were men holding the more important parochial benefices, and in many cases they appear to have done no pastoral work. In fifteen of the thirty-eight parishes an unbeneficed curate or daily chaplain, whose position was insecure and poorly paid, was possibly the only cleric actually at work among the people, while in another eleven parishes curates were probably assisting beneficed men and often carrying the bulk of the pastoral load. The precarious financial position of these curates appears to have been a factor in the known conformity of eleven of them.

The new church parochial structure was similar to the old, and in some sense, parsons, vicars, and curates were replaced by ministers, exhorters, and readers. As with the old church, it was clerics in higher ecclesiastical orders who were the better educated; the essential difference was that educated ministers continued in parochial work with consistency. The most obvious cases of conformity within the diocese occurred among/

among men already performing pastoral duties; and here most conformers simply assumed a new ecclesiastical position in their old parishes. This was the case in over 40% of Dunblane's parishes. Such conformity within the same community emphasises the basic lack of mobility among the lesser clergy of both churches; a reader rarely removed to another parish save in conjunction with an ecclesiastical promotion. Whatever the shortage of ministers within the diocese, it is clear from the few readers who rose above that station, only eight of thirty-two, and the various cases of men whose careers as ministers were truncated for lack of ability, that parochial functions were taken seriously.

The three major religious houses of Dunblane diocese contributed eight men to the early Protestant clergy, six who served within the diocese, and pressure to conform was clearly brought on the monks of Culross. Service as new church clerics was generally among the younger members of the convents, who were probably most able to assume such duties, and who were most amenable to the persuasions of the Protestant commendators, who themselves each contributed to the new church. With one exception, service in the new church was given in parishes appropriated to the monk's or canon's house, parishes possibly served by the religious prior to 1560, again providing some consistency in parochial personnel.

There were those in the diocese who opposed the Reformation. The/

The Chisholm bishops exercised their influence among beneficed parochial clergy, so that only six or seven such men conformed to service before 1570. With only one exception, the late conforming chancellor, Mr. Roger Gordon, the Cathedral establishment remained conservative, and became the source for some of the recusancy within the diocese. The conservative Chisholms also contributed to recusancy through their and their family's personal adherence to the old faith, and the Oliphants represent a lay family dedicated to the old church for many years after 1560, who took active measures against the new church.

The general reforming tendency among the principal laymen of the diocese, together with the personnel of the new church, demonstrate the importance of local participation in the development of that church in Dunblane diocese. Murrays, Drummonds, and Stirlings provided new church clergy, while many smaller local families made substantial contributions as well, notably the families of Scot, Balvaird, Wemyss and Drysdale. As the Reformed church emerged within Dunblane diocese, its strength rested in the support of local families and old church clergy who conformed to supply the pastoral needs of the people in their local parishes.

APPENDIX I

Reformation Parochial Fasti of Dunblane Diocese

This appendix is designed to give a readily available fasti for each of the Dunblane parishes just prior to the Reformation until 1570. Clergy for both the old and new churches are given, illustrating the coexisting ecclesiastical structures during the first decade after 1560.

For the Roman church, parsons, vicars, vicars pensioner, and curates are listed as appropriate and known. For the Protestant church, ministers, exhorters and readers are identified. Where a clergyman of the old church conformed to serve in the new, his name is listed under his appropriate positions. Further biographical information and documentation for those serving will be found in Appendix II.

At the end of the fasti will be found a chart illustrating the parochial cure of souls prior to 1560, and a second illustrating Protestant parochial service in 1567.

ABERFOYLE

Parsonage

Prebend of Dunblane Cathedral, £60 (Assignations, 1576,
fo. 37v)

1532-1571 Mr. James Kennedy

Vicarage Perpetual

£20 (BA, fo. 318)

1543-1561 sir Stephen Sinclair

1567-1573 Henry Seton, son of Alexander Seton of Northrig.

Curate

1544-1545 sir John Grenock

Minister

1571 Robert Graham (Reg. Minr., 30)

Exhorter

1567-1571 John McCathren, deposed 1571

Reader

1568 John McHarmik

ABERNETHY

Parsonage

Arbroath, £266/13/4 (BA, fos. 307, 308; TB, 15)

1545-1561 Mr. Alexander Beaton

Vicarage

Prebend of Dunblane Cathedral, £53/6/8 (BA, fo. 298) or
£36/13/4 (TB, 14)

1561-1565 Mr. David Gourlay

1565-1572 Mr. David Robisoun

Vicarage Pensionary

1550-1551 sir Alexander Gaw

Minister

1567-1572 Patrick Galt

Reader

1567-1595 John Wemyss

ABRUTHVEN

Parsonage

Inchaffray

Vicarage Perpetual

£26/13/4 (TB, 15)

1557/8-1582/³ Mr. Robert Herbertson

Curate

1545/6 sir Thomas Dunning

Minister

1567-1585 Mr. John Hammyll

Reader

1567-1576 Thomas Dunning

AUCHTERARDER

Parsonage

Inchaffray

Vicarage

Common to Canons of Dunblane Cathedral,
£20 (BA, fo. 318)

1551 sir James and sir William Blackwood, tacksmen
1561 sir William Blackwood, tacksman.
1571/2 tack renewed to William and James Blackwood
1568 (28 June) Mr. John Hammyll, presented to the
vicarage. Held until 1585.

Minister

1567-1585 Mr. John Hammyll

Reader

1567-1580 David Murye

BALQUHIDDER

Parsonage

Prebend of Dunblane cathedral, £16 (BA, fos. 306, 308;
TB, 15)

1545-1570 Mr. James Rolland

1570-1574 George Hart

Vicarage Perpetual

1554-1568/9 sir John Thompson

1568/9-1590 John Burdon

Curate ?

1547 sir Andrew Morison (Dunb. Tests., 1. fo. 162)

Minister

1574-1590 John Burdon

Exhorter

1567-1573 John McCorquodale

Reader

1567-1573 John Burdon (Styled exhorter, 1571-2)

CALLANDER

Parsonage

Mensal church, Bishop of Dunblane

Vicarage Perpetual

£10 (BA, fo. 312v)

1548-1572 sir John Wricht

Curate

1544 sir Nigel Menteith

1551/2, 1554 sir William Scot, probable curate

 Minister

1563 William Scot, styled minister
 1576-1601 William Scot

Reader

1569-1574 William Scot

COMRIE

Parsonage

Prebend of Dunblane cathedral, £26/13/4 (BA, fo. 297v)

1554/5-1595 Mr. Alexander Chisholm

Vicarage

£20 (BA, fo. 312; "New Enterit Benefices", SHR, xxxii, no. 113, p. 94)

1550/1-1591 Mr. John Sinclair

Vicarage Pensionary

£10 (TB, 92)

1558-1572 sir Duncan Comrie

Minister

1569-1572 William Drummond

Exhorter

1567-1569 William Drummond

Reader

1561-1572 Duncan Comrie

CULROSS

Parsonage

Culross priory

Vicarage ?

1560 sir John Brown

Curate

1544-1545 Dene John Kinpont, member of the convent
1546 Dene Robert Holka^t, member of the convent

Minister

1567-1591 John Dykis

Exhorter

1567-1574 Walter Millar

Reader

1574 Walter Millar

DRON

Parsonage

Arbroath, however, parson mentioned there in 1545
(Dunb. Tests, i. fo. 149v)

Vicarage Perpetual

1548 sir Stephen Culross
1579 (before) Mr. John Moncrieff

Curate

1550/1 sir John Black

Minister

1567-1594 Patrick Wemyss

Reader

1567-1572 John Lennox

DUNBLANE

Parsonage

Mensal church, Bishop of Dunblane £64/13/4
(BA, fo. 285)

Vicarage

Prebend of Dunblane cathedral

1550-1588 Mr. Roger Gordon

Vicarage Pensionary

1539/40-1586 sir John Lermonth

 Minister

1562	Mr. Robert Pont
1564-1565	Mr. Thomas Drummond
1567-1572	Mr. Robert Montgomery

DUNNING

Parsonage

Inchaffray

Vicarage

Inchaffray

Vicarage Pensionary

£10 (Assignations, 1595, fo. 29)

1566 (before) sir John Hammyll

1566-1568 sir William Drummond

1569-1585 Mr. John Hammyll

Curate

1544-1545 sir John Gray, daily chaplain of Dunning

1551 sir Robert Lyn, chaplain and curate

Minister

1564 Mr. Andrew Simson

1567-1585 Mr. John Hammyll

Reader

1567-1576 John Gray

DUPPLIN

Parsonage

Unappropriated (Lord Oliphant) £26/13/4 (TB,16)

1543-1569 sir John Ker
 1569-1574 Dene William Melrose
 1576 "vacand" (Assignations, 1576, fo. 34v)

Minister or Exhorter

1567-1569 William Melrose

EXMAGIRDLE

Parsonage

Lindores, 20 merks (BA, fo. 38)

No pre-Reformation clergy have been identified here, but
 the cure was served by a chaplain. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 60v)

Minister

1567-1580 Patrick Wemyss

Reader

1567-1576 John Lennox

FINDOGASK

Parsonage

Mensal church, Bishop of Dunblane

Vicarage

Prebend of the archdeacon of Dunblane, £24/13/4 (TB, 15)

1550-ca.1560 sir George Wawane
1563/4-1595 Mr. James Chisholm

Vicarage Pensionary

1556-1562 Mr. Alexander Drummond
before 1572 Mr. Robert Matheson

Minister

1572-1574 William Melrose

Exhorter

1567-1572 William Melrose

Reader

1567-1578 Thomas Scot

FOSSOWAY

Parsonage

Coupar Angus, $\frac{1}{4}$ to Bishop of Dunblane, £86/13/4
(BA, fo. 285v, 326)

Vicarage Pensionary

1552-1553 sir John Blackwood
1571 sir Adam Blackwood

Curate

Curate serving here 30 May, 1545 (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 119)
1552- Mr. Adam Marshall, probably curate here

 Exhorter

1567-1572 Mr. Adam Marshall

Reader

1574 Mr. Adam Marshall

FOWLIS-WESTER

Parsonage

Inchaffray

Vicarage Portionary

£14 (TB, 15)

1553/4	Mr. George Ruthven
1558/9-1561	Dene Patrick Murray
before 1584	Dene William Ruthven

Curate

1551/2	sir David Murray, styled pensioner
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Minister

1567/8	Mr. Thomas McGibbon
1574	William Melrose

Reader

1567-1579	David Murray
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GLENDEVON

Parsonage and vicarage

Prebend of Dunblane cathedral, £26/13/4 (TB, 14)
 In tack to sir William Blackwood, 1561. (BA, 297v)
 He was in the parish in 1553. (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 15v)

1543/4-1566 William Chisholm
 1566-1601 Mr. Stephen Wilson

Vicarage Pensionary

£14/13/4 (Assignations, 1576, fo. 36; TB, 15)

1552-1572 Mr. John Hutsoun

Minister

1567-1573 Mr. James Paton

Reader

1568-1572 Mr. John Hutsoun

KILBRIDE

Parsonage

Inchaffray

Curate

1543/4-1546 sir Mathew Muschet

Minister1567-1572 Mr. Robert Menteith
1572-1589 Michael Lermonth

Reader

1567-1572 Michael (or John) Lermonth

KILMADOCK

Parsonage

Inchmahome

Vicarage

Chancellor of Dunblane cathedral, £22/13/4 (TB, 16)

1546-1571 Mr. James Kennedy

Curate

£9 (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 123v)

1553 Mr. William Anderson

Minister

1574-1591 Alexander Fergy

Reader

1569 Thomas Redock

KILMAGOG

Parsonage

Mensal church, Bishop of Dunblane

Vicarage Perpetual

1528 sir Walter Menteith (RMS, iii. 763)

Curate

1544 sir Gilbert Galalie
1551-1552 sir Patrick McNab

Minister

1574 Michael Lermonth

Reader

1569-1574 Gilbert Galalie

KINCARDINE

Parsonage and vicarage

Prebend of Dunblane cathedral held by the abbot of
Cambuskenneth

Vicarage Pensionary

1563 sir Andrew Hegy
before 1584 Dene David Hegy

Curate

Unnamed curate here in 1544/5 (Dunb. Tests., 1. fo. 86v)

Minister

1574-1589 Alexander Fergy

Reader

1574 Alexander Anderson
1576 David Hegy

KINKELL

Parsonage

Inchaffray

Vicarage

£26/13/4 (Assignations, 1593, fo. 27)

Before 1588, Dene George Spens, canon of Inchaffray

Curate

Curates mentioned but unnamed in 1544/5 and 1553/4
(Dunb. Tests., fo. 62v; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book,
ii. fo. 336)

Minister

1567/8	Mr. Thomas McGibbon
1574-1585	Mr. John Hammyll

Reader

1567-1585	Alexander Murray
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KIPPEN

Parsonage

Cambuskenneth

Vicarage

Prebend of Dunblane cathedral, £26/13/4 (TB, 17)

1550-1566 sir John Hammyll
 1566 William Bannerman

Curate

1536-1553 sir Donald Stephenson
 1553 (12 July) sir Adam Watson
 1553 (10 December) sir Donald Stephenson

Minister

1574 Patrick Gillespie, minister of St. Ninian's,
 Stirling (Wodrow Misc., 366)

Reader

1574 William Stirling

LENY

Parsonage

Inchmahome

Vicarage

£40 (Assignations, 1595, fo. 30)

1549-1552 Dene James Thompson

1562/3-1581 Mr. Alexander Drysdale

Curate ?

Sir John McKynnair may have served as curate sometime
before 1560 (RMS, iv. 2524)

Minister

1563 Allan Baxter

Reader

1567-1573 William Scot, reader of Callander
1573-1580 Soloman Buchanan (Reg. Minr., 30;
Assignations, 1580, fo. 35)

LOGIE

Parsonage

Priory of North Berwick, in tack to Home of Polwarth,
£58 (BA, fo. 155v)

Vicarage

Prebend of Dunblane cathedral, £40 (BA, fo. 298)

1560	sir John Forfar or Mr. James Chisholm
1561	Mr. James Chisholm
1562-1605	Robert Seton, son of Walter Seton of Tullibody

Curate

1539-1558	sir Alexander Balvaird
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 Minister

1564-1591	Alexander Fergy
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Reader

1567-1590	Alexander Balvaird
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MONZIE

Parsonage

Mensal church, Bishop of Dunblane

Vicarage

Prebend of Dunblane Cathedral, £20 (TB, 16)

1554-1573 sir Andrew Strathenry

Vicarage Pensionary ?

1552/3 sir John Mathin may have been pensioner here

Minister

1574-1589 William Drummond

Reader

1567 James Scot
1568-1588 William Scot

MONZIEVAIRD

Parsonage and vicarage

Inchaffray

Vicarage pensionary

£10 (BA, fo. 289)

1556-1577 sir Thomas Christison

Curate

Probably served by a hired curate (RMS, iv. 2064)

Minister

1569-1589 William Drummond

Exhorter

1567-1569 William Drummond
1570-1572 Thomas Glass

Reader

1565 William Heriot
1567 Alexander Christison
1568 Thomas Glass

MUTHILL

Parsonage

Mensal church, Bishop of Dunblane

Vicarage

Prebend to the sub-chantership of Dunblane
£33/6/8 (TB, 305)

1556-1590 sir Edmond Chisholm

Chrate

1550-1551 sir Donald Philipson
1552/3 sir Andrew Drummond, styled daily chaplain
 at Muthill

Minister

1564/5 Mr. Thomas Drummond
1569-1574 Alexander Gaw

Exhorter

1567-1568 Alexander Gaw

Reader

1564 Alexander Gaw

PORT OF MENTEITH

Parsonage and vicarage

Inchmahome

Vicarage ?

1528 sir Thomas Youngman (RBM, i. 483, ii. 391)

Minister

1574-1576 Mr. William Stirling

Reader

1569-1589 Dene William Stirling

ST. MADDOES

Parsonage

Unappropriated (Earls of Rothes), £58/13/4 (TB,15)

1550-1590/1 Mr. David Balvaird

Curate

1546 sir John Dempsterton

Minister

1568-1573 Mr. William Edmonston
1574-1590/1 Mr. David Balvaird

Reader

1567 Richard Differis
1569-1572 Mr. David Balvaird

STROGEITH

Parsonage

Bishop of Dunblane, £60 (BA, fo. 32lv)

Vicarage

Held by treasurer of Dunblane (Reg. Dunb., fo. 1)

1534-1567 Mr. William Murray
 1567 William Murray, son of Murray of Tullibardine
 (RSS, v. 3433; TB, 255)

Vicarage pensionary

£20 (Assignations, 1576, fo. 36; "New Enterit
 Benefices", SHR, xxxii. no. 113, p. 197)

1553-1565 Mr. Abraham Crichton, provost of Dunglass
 1566-1591 Andrew Drummond

Curate

1544 sir Alexander Christison
 daily chaplain at Strogeith

Minister

1569-1589 William Drummond

Exhorter

1567-1568 William Drummond

Reader

1567-1572 Alexander Christison

STROWAN

Parsonage and vicarage

Inchaffray, £44/13/4 (TB, 14)

Vicarage pensionary

£13/6/7 (Assignations, 1593, fo. 27)

1531/2-1543/4 Mr. James Blackwood
 (RMS, iii. 1257; Abercainy Muniments,
 section i/no. 119)
 1561 Mr. James Chisholm

Curate

1560 Mr. Patrick Rodger

 Minister

1569-1574 Alexander Gaw

Exhorter

1567-1568 Alexander Gaw

Reader

1567-1585 James Murray

TILLICOULTRY

Parsonage and vicarage

Cambuskenneth No names of Roman Catholic clergy have
been discovered at or near the Reformation.

Minister

1567-1572 Robert Menteith

Exhorter

1569 Mr. Alexander Drysdale

Reader

1567-1574 Mr. Alexander Drysdale

TRINITY GASK

Parsonage

Inchaffray

Vicarage

£17/6/8 (TB, 16; Assignations, 1576, fo. 35v)

1551-1572 Dene William Oliphant, canon of Inchaffray

Curate

before 1560 sir Thomas Scot

Minister

1574 William Melrose

Exhorter

1564/5 Thomas Scot
1567-1572 William Melrose

TULLIALLAN

Parsonage

Unappropriated (Blackadder of Tulliallan)
 $\frac{1}{4}$ to Bishop of Dunblane £30 (BA, fo. 287v)

before 1558
 ca. 1560-1599

Mr. David Paniter, Bishop of Ross
 Patrick Blackadder

 Minister

1567-1589 John Dykis

Exhorter

1571-1572 Walter Millar

TULLIBODY

Parsonage and vicarage

Cambuskenneth

Vicarage pensionary

£10 (TB, 251)

1538/9 sir Thomas Cocklaw (RSS, ii. 2858)
 before 1569 sir Andrew Drysdale
 1569-1591 Alexander Fergy

 Reader

1567-1569 Andrew Drysdale

TULLIBOLE

Parsonage and vicarage

Culross priory

Curate

1543 sir John Henderson, probably also there in
1544 and 1545 (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 72v, 118v)

 Reader

1567-1574 John Henderson

TULLICHEDDILL

Parsonage and vicarage

Inchaffray

Curate

1546-1560 sir John Quhite

 Minister

1569-1574 William Drummond

Exhorter

1567-1569 William Drummond

Reader

1567-1574 John Quhite

PRE-REFORMATION CURE OF SOULS

	parson	titular vicar	vicar pensioner	curate
Aberfoyle		X		X
Abernethy			X	
Abruthven				X
Auchterarder		X		
Balquhiddier		X		X
Callander		X		X
Comrie		X	X	
Culross				X
Dron		X		X
Dunblane			X	
Dunning				X
Dupplin	X			
Exmagirdle				X
Findogask			X	
Fossoway			X	X
Fowls-Wester		X		X
Glendevon			X	
Kilbride				X
Kilmadock				X
Kilmahog				X
Kincardine			X	X
Kinkell		X		X
Kippen				X
Leny		X		X
Logie				X
Monzie		X	X	
Monzievaird				X
Muthill				X
Port of Menteith				X
St. Madoes	X			X
Strogeith				X
Strowan				X
Tillicoultry	unknown			
Trinity Gask		X		X
Tulliallan				X
Tullibody			X	
Tullibole				X
Tullicheddill				X

PROTESTANT PAROCHIAL SERVICE 1567

	minister	exhorter	reader	reader only
Aberfoyle		X		
Abernethy	X		X	
Abruthven	X		X	
Auchterarder	X		X	
Balquhiddar		X	X	
Callander				X
Comrie		X	X	
Culross	X	X		
Dron	X		X	
Dunblane	X			
Dunning	X		X	
Dupplin		X		
Exmagirdle	X		X	
Findogask		X	X	
Fossoway		X		
Fowlis-Wester	X		X	
Glendevon	X			
Kilbride	X		X	
Kilmadock				
Kilmahog				
Kincardine				
Kinkell	X		X	
Kippen				
Leny				X
Logie	X		X	
Monzie				X
Monzievaird		X	X	
Muthill		X		
Port of Menteith				
St. Madoes				X
Strogeith		X	X	
Strowan		X	X	
Tillicoultry	X		X	
Trinity Gask		X		
Tulliallan	X			
Tullibody				X
Tullibole				X
Tullicheddill		X	X	

APPENDIX II

DUNBLANE CLERGY

This appendix is designed to give a brief biography of those clergy involved in parish work or holding a parochial benefice in Dunblane diocese from just prior to 1560 until 1570. Examples of pluralism, conformity to Protestant service, and recusancy are particularly noted. Some of the men listed were of national prominence or had widely divergent economic and geographical interests. Where those interests took them outside the diocese, only passing reference is made to their later careers, which are often discussed in depth in a variety of publications.

The title Mr. indicates a man who held a master's degree; sir, a cleric who was a priest but did not hold a degree; and Dene, a monk or canon regular.

ANDERSON, Mr. William

Possibly a priest and chaplain of the choir at Dunblane 1531-1532. (RMS, iii. 1031, 1195, 1257) He may have been a student at St. Andrews in 1531. (St. A. Univ. Rec., 229) Curate of Kilmadock 19 June, 1553 (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 13v)

BALVAIRD, sir Alexander

Curate of Logy in 1539 (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 3) Called curate 20 Aug., 1547, when he was accused of killing his sister. (RSS, iii. 2388) Still curate there 20 March, 1552/3, 28 April, 1553, and 29 Jan., 1553/4. (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 3v, 4; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 334) Called vicar of Logy 12 July, 1558. (Laing Charters, 688) Reader at Clackmannan and Logy 1567-1568. (Reg. Minr., 27; TB, 252) Continued on as reader until 1590. (Wodrow Misc., 360; Assignations, 1590, fo. 34)

BALVAIRD, Mr. David

Probably student at St. Andrews 1538-1540. (St. A. Univ. Rec., 140, 142, 241; St. A. Acta, ii. 387 and n., 390) Appeared at St. Madoes while Mr. Alan BalvaIRD was still parson. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 160) Parson there by 15 July, 1550. (P.B. A. Gaw, no. 69) Continued as parson 1552-1572. (P.B. A. Gaw, no. 118; Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 2; BA, fo. 318v; TB, 252) Reader at St. Madoes 1569-1572. (TB, 250) Minister and parson of St. Madoes 1574-1590/1. (Wodrow Misc., 353; Assignations, passim; RSS, vii. 964; RPC, iii. 589; Edin. Tests., 11 Jan., 1591/2)

BANNERMAN, William

Granted prebend of Kippen and vicarage of Dunning 8 April, 1566. (RSS, v. 2743) May have been son of Bannerman of Cardney and prebendary of Cragy, 22 Dec., 1566-1592. (RSS, v. 3144; Laing Charters, 1092; Cal. Charters, 2764; 3170) Grant to Dunning did not hold. (RSS, v. 3155; vi. 708)

BAXTER, Allan

Called minister of Leny on 9 June and 28 Sept., 1563. (Feu Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 129; Buchanan of Leny Writs, Bundle 5/no. 6)

BEATON, Mr. Alexander

Son of David Cardinal Beaton and Marion Ogilvy, Lady Melgund. Legitimated 4 Nov., 1539; second legitimation in 1545. (Deeds, v. 297; RMS, iii. 2037; RSS, ii. 3400; iii. 1263; Peerage, i. 115) May have studied at St. Andrews 1543/4. (Rentale Sancti Andree, 199) Parsonage of Abernethy and vicarage of Monifieth resigned to him by David Beaton, 1545. (GUA, Consensus, 1546, fos. 56, 56v) Held revenues of the parsonage of Abernethy 1561. (BA, fos. 306, 308) At the horn in 1574 "for non subscribing of ane letter of tak of the teinds of Abirnethie left by Mr. John Spens of Condie". (RSS, vi. 2783) Vicar of Monifieth 1566. (TB, 237) Archdeacon of Lothian 1548-1584. (Med. Fasti, 314) Archdeacon there in 1562. (Deeds, v. 297) Continued so, for example, 1569, 1575. (TB, 278; Peerage, i. 115) Thereby he was parson of Currie. (TA, xii. 212; TB, 279; Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 102;

BEATON, cont'd.

RMS, v. 688) Was remunerated for demitting the archdeaconry to Edinburgh, 1583/4. (Extracts Edin. Council, iv. 322, 323; Cal. Charters, 2709) Put to horn for "nocht observing to the guid toun of his pairt of the contract". (Extracts Edin. Council, iv. 394)

BLACK, sir John

Curate of Dron 21 Feb., 1550/1. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 21v)

BLACKADDER, Patrick

Possibly student at St. Andrews in 1541. (St. A. Univ. Rec., 247) Second son of John Blackadder of Tulliallan, he was probably in possession of the parsonage of Tulliallan by 1559. (Fasti, viii. 403) Parson in 1575, (Bruce of Wester Kennet Papers, no. 64) and in 1579. (Edin. Tests., 11 June, 1583) Still parson when he died in May, 1599. (Edin. Tests., 28 July, 1599)

BLACKWOOD, sir Adam

Vicar pensioner of Fossoway 24 July, 1571. (Morton Papers, no. 1076)

BLACKWOOD, sir John

Vicar (Pensioner) of Fossoway 11 Sept., 1553. (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 17) Mentioned there with no designation 13 April, 1552. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 161)

BLACKWOOD, sir John

Same as above? Held tack on the parsonage of Glendevon from the bishop of Dunblane, 1561. (BA, fo. 297v)

BLACKWOOD, sir William

Notary in Dunblane diocese in the 1550s. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. and ii., passim) Presented to chaplainry of Our Lady in 1550. (Stirlings of Keir, nos. 175, 176) Chaplain there 9 Feb., 1551/2. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 132v) Chaplain in Dunblane 1558-1563. (Few Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 285v; RMS, iv. 1390, 1694) Vicar of Duddingston, 1561 (BA, 112), and in 1566, 1567. (RMS, iv. 1746, 1999, 2569; Laing Charters, 803) Produced diocesan register book, promising not to abuse it, 1569. (RPC, ii. 22, 26) Remained Roman Catholic, being deprived of Our Lady altar in 1573. (Stirlings of Keir, no. 196) Excommunicated by Stirling Presbytery in 1583. (Stirling Presbytery Records, 23 July, 1583) Styled vicar of Duddingston and chaplain of Our Lady altar 9 June, 1574. (A & D, 55, fo. 17v) Deprived of Duddingston in 1588/9. (RSS, 59, fo. 17) Called an abuser of the sacraments in 1590. (RPC, iv. 521; xiv. 373; BUK, 803) Still alive and a Roman Catholic in 1602. (Innes Review, vi. 44)

BLACKWOOD, sir William

With his brother, sir James, he was tacksman of Auchterarder vicarage, 1551. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 43) Sir William tacksman in 1561. (BA, fo. 318; TB, 16) Tack renewed to William and James in 1571/2. (RSS, vi. 1419) Possibly same man as vicar of Duddingston.

BROWN, sir John

Chaplain at Culross 7 & 8 June, 1540 (RMS, iii. 2869, 2868), and on 20 April, 1542. (Ibid., 2883) Also chaplain there in 1543 and 1545. (RMS, iv. 27; RSAS, xli, 326, no. 37) Presented to the chaplainry of St. Mungo near Culross, 3 May, 1549 and again called chaplain in 1548 and 1554. (RSS, iv. 231; RMS, iv. 1140, 1134) Called vicar of Culross, but was possibly only a chaplain, 27 Aug., 1560. (Feu Charters of Kirklands, ii. fo. 88; RMS, iv. 2911)

BURDON, John

Reader at Balquhiddie 1567-1573. (Reg. Minr., 30; TB, 252, where he is called exhorter 1571-1572.) Minister there in 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 357) Presented to vicarage of Balquhiddie, 10 Jan., 1568/9. (RSS, vi. 509) Assigned income from Our Lady altar in Dunblane in 1575, but was unable to collect. (Assignations, 1576, fo. 33v, note inserted) Although Burdon was deposed by 10 Dec., 1584, by the Presbytery of Perth because he was "decernit unqualifiit....to use and exerce ye office of ane minister", he appears to have held that office until 1590. (RSS, 51, fo. 137; Assignations, 1590, fo. 33v)

CHISHOLM, Mr. Alexander

Presented to the parsonage of Comrie 6 Feb., 1554/5. (RSS, iv. 2914) He was parson there at the Reformation (BA, fo. 297), and continued to hold this benefice through the decade. (TA, xi. 285-286; RSS, v. 2817; Feu Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 288) Parson there in 1577. (Burnett-Stuart Collection, no. 25; Feu Charters of Kirklands, ii. fo. 89v; RMS, iv. 2912) He was parson there in 1578. (Tods, Murray and Jamieson Collection, no. 64) He continued to hold this benefice into the eighties. (RMS, v. 1288) Late parson and vicar of Comrie, 1596. (RSS, 68, fo. 95) Possibly late prebendary of Kippen. (RSS, 68, fo. 83)

CHISHOLM, sir Edmond

Sub-dean of Dunblane cathedral 27 March, 1556 and in 1557. (Drummond Castle Papers, Innerpefferay Writs, no. 7; Stirlings of Keir, no. 187) Sub-dean there in 1561. (BA, fo. 298v) Still there in 1571. (RMS, iv. 1993, 1994) Sub-dean in 1577. (Abercairny Muniments, 1/120/no. 48) As sub-dean he held the vicarage of Muthill. He was the late sub-dean and late vicar of Muthill in 1590. (RSS, 60, fo. 137v; 61, fo. 40v)

CHISHOLM, Mr. James

Possibly a son of Bishop Chisholm. (RMS, iii. 3007; RSS, iii. 3011) Presented to the provostry of St. Giles, 5 Oct., 1557. (RSS, v. 214) Remained provost until at least 1566 (St. Giles Reg., no. 152) and perhaps later. (TA, xii. 195) Presented to the prebend of Tarbolton, 23 March, 1556/7. (RSS, v. 98) Parson and perpetual vicar of Tarbolton, 19 Jan., 1571/2, and parson on 15 April, 1572. (Cal. Charters, 2239; RSS, vi. 1556) Vicar of Strowan and Logie 1561. (BA, fo. 298) Chisholm was archdeacon of Dunblane and held thereby the vicarage of Findogask by 1563/4, when he was forced to make the manse of Findogask available to Mr. Thomas Drummond. (A & D, 29, fos. 170-170v) Archdeacon of Dunblane, 1566 and vicar of Strabane (TB, 255), 1573/4, 1582, and in 1595. (RMS, v. 425, 534; vii. 690) At the horn in 1571-1572 for failure to make payment of thirds. (RSS, vi. 1197, 1550, 1556) Apparently he still held the provostry of St. Giles in 1582. (RPC, iii. 480)

CHRISTISON, sir Alexander

Daily chaplain at Strogeith, 1544. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 56) Chaplain and notary public at Milnab in Strogeith, 15 May, 1553. (Drummond Castle Papers, Milnab Writs, bundle 1/no. 15) Reader at Monzievaird and Strogeith, 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 30v) Reader at Monzievaird and Crieff 1568 and also at Strogeith, 1569-1572. (TB, 252) Presented to pension of 24 merks from the vicarage of Crieff plus the manse, 10 July, 1568. (RSS, vi. 367; Reg. Pres., i. fo. 13v) Reader at Crieff 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359) Continued as reader there until 1586. (Assignations, passim; 1586, fo. 27v) Later vicar (pensioner) of Crieff, 1588. (RSS, 57, fo. 49v)

CHRISTISON, sir Thomas

Chaplain at Culross in 1545. (PSAS, xli, 326, no. 37) Presented to vicarage of Whitekirk, 1545. (Cart. St. Crucis, 259) Late vicar of Whitekirk, 16 Feb., 1577/8. (RSS, vii. 1457) Parson of Yetholm 1556-1572. (RMS, iv. 2061; TB, 286) Vicar of Yetholm, 10 Sept., 1569. (RPC, ii. 32) Parson and vicar of Yetholm, resigned 8 Feb., 1577/8. (RSS, vii. 1443) Vicar of Monzievaird 22 Nov., 1556, (RMS, iv. 2061) and in 1573/4. (BA, fo. 289) Late vicar, Monzievaird, deceased 10 Sept., 1578. (RSS, vii. 1638) He probably possessed land at Culross in 1576. (RMS, v. 1043) May have been chamberlain of Kelso, 1559-1560. (TA, xi. 3, 12) Had a brother, Dene Robert, who was a monk at Culross. Died on 23 Feb., 1577/8. (Edin. Tests., 29 July, 1579)

COMRIE, sir Duncan

In parish of Comrie, 1543. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 27v) Probably serving the cure at Comrie by 24 Nov., 1553. (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 32v) Called curate of Comrie, 10 Nov., 1558. (Ibid., ii. fo. 36) Vicar of Comrie (i.e. pensioner) and conformed to serve as reader there 1561-1572. (TB, 92, 150, 253; Reg. Minr., 28) Deceased by 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359)

CRICHTON, Mr. Abraham

At the horn for barratry 1548/9. (ADCP, 581) He attended some council meetings, as in 1550 and 1561. (RPC, i. 111, 188) Vicar (pensioner) of Stodgeith 22 May, 1553. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 286) Vicar pensioner there 29 Jan., 1563/4. (Feu Charters of Kirklands, ii. fos. 174-174v) Late vicar 26 March 1566 (RSS, v. 2721) and former vicar pensioner of Stodgeith and provost of Dunblath 31 Dec., 1566. (A & D, 57, fo. 326) Parson of Crawfordjahn 24 Aug., 1531 and 1541. (RMS, iii. 1134; TA, vii. 456; Stirlings of Keir, no. 155) Parson there 18 March, 1552/3. (A & D, 8, fo. 126) Still parson there in 1562 (A & D, 37, fo. 109) and called parson and vicar 8 June, 1563. (A & D, 38, fo. 355) Parson of Chirnside 1526/7, 1531, 1532, 1536/7. (Stirlings of Keir, no. 115; RMS, iii. 1017; RSS, ii. 1388; RMS, iv. 1656) Still parson there 1563. (TB, 88, 283) Curator to John Wardlaw of Torry 1532. (RSS, ii. 1388) Parson of Upsettlington 1522 (Stirlings of Keir, nos. 105, 106) and in 1561-1563. (TB, 88, 283) Vicar of Aberlady (prebend of Dunkeld) 1561 and late vicar 17 Sept., 1565. (TB, 88; RSS, v. 2314) Late prebendary of Abiragy in Abernethy before 1566/7. (RSS, v. 3280) In disputed possession of provosty of Dunblath 11 Feb., 1535/6. (ADCP, 450) Provost from 1539-1552. (RMS, iii. 2042; iv. 432; v. 1548; Stirlings of Keir, nos 151, 157, 178; A & D, 35, fo. 148; RSS, ii. 5010; iii. 2312; Rentale Sancti Andree, 184; Patrick, Statutes, 87; Cal. Charters, 1371 et passim) Continued as provost until his death in 1565. (Deeds, iii. 131v; TB, 88, 247; RMS, v. 2371; RPC, i. 236; Cal. Charters, passim; A & D, 37, fo. 110, etc.) Official of Lothian 1540. (Med. Fasti, 326) Official in 1541, 1545/6. (Stirlings of Keir, no. 157; RMS, iii. 3198) and on into 1552-1553. (ADCP, 570; RMS, v. 1548; Cal. Charters, 1566; Med. Fasti, 326) Auditor of Treasures accounts 1554. (Cal. Charters, 1632) Appointed to court of session 1548. (Brunton and Haig, College, 92-93; TA, ix, 254) Continued thereon, as in 1550 (ADCP, 597-598, 604), apparently until he died in 1565. (Knox, History, ii. 185)

CULROSS, sir Stephen

Possibly chaplain of the choir of Dunblath 1532/3 (RMS, iii. 1257), Culross appears to have been a notary in 1539 (RMS, iii. 2036) and may have been vicar of Fintry 1539-1541. (Stirlings of Keir, no. 150; RMS, iii. 1997, 2488) He was vicar of Dron on 12 June, 1548, but how long he may have remained so is unknown. (ADCP, 575)

DEMPSTERTON, sir John

Probably curate of St. Madoes 10 Dec., 1546. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 160)

DIFFERIS, Richard

This may have been Richard Differis of Ghokton, mentioned on an assize regarding the laird of Kinfauns in 1546/7, but this cannot be verified. (RMS, iv. 69 et seq., 356) He was reader at St. Madoes in 1567 (Reg. Minr., 19) and at Kinfauns in 1569. (TB, 253)

DRUMMOND, Mr. Alexander

Possibly student at St. Andrews 1540-1542. (St. A. Univ. Rec., 145, 245) Vicar (pensioner) of Findogask 27 March, 1556. (Drummond Castle Papers, Innerpeffray Writs, no. 7) Deceased vicar there 1561 or 1562. (TB, 165)

DRUMMOND, sir Andrew

Daily chaplain at Muthill 11 March, 1552/3. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 260)

DRUMMOND, Andrew

Son of William Drummond of Balloch, presented to vicarage pensionary of Stodgeith 26 March, 1566. (RSS, v. 2721) Vicar there in 1567 (Cal. Charters, 2100) and continued so, as in 1582, until 1591. (RMS, v. 439, 710; RPC, iv. 701) Reader at Stodgeith from 1574 until 1588. (Wodrow Misc., 358; Assignations, passim; 1588, fo. 32v)

DRUMMOND, Mr. Thomas

Possibly student at St. Andrews 1553-1554. (St. A. Acta, ii. 404; St. A. Univ. Rec., 151, 152) If so, he was an examiner and proctor there in 1557-1558. (St. A. Acta, ii. 412-413) Minister of Creich 1563. (BUK, i. 35; Deeds, 47, fo. 389) One of the ministers commissioned to plant kirks in Menteith for one year from 1563. (BUK, i. 35, 40) Called a minister in Dunblane, Muthill and divers other kirks 24 March, 1563/4. (A & D, 29, fos. 170-170v) Minister of Dunblane silenced by the queen in 1565. (Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 153)

DRUMMOND, sir William

May have been chaplain in diocese in 1535. (RMS, iii. 1486) May have been sacristan of Dunblane 1549/50. (RMS, v. 2210) Probably still chaplain 1562. (RMS, v. 842) Presented to the vicarage of Dunning 4 May, 1566. (RSS, v. 3155) Vicar there 31 July, 1568. (RSS, vi. 411) Possibly the recusant priest of the 1580s. (Stirling Presbytery Records, 27 August, 1583)

DRUMMOND, William

Exhorter at Stodgeith, Crieff, Monzievaird, Comrie and Tullicheddill 1567. (Reg. Minr., fo. 30v) Exhorter at Crieff 1568. (TB, 252) Minister at Crieff, Stodgeith, Comrie, Tullicheddill and Monzievaird 1569-1572. (TB, 250) Minister at Crieff, presented to vicarage 2 May, 1574. (RSS, vi. 2465) Minister at Tullicheddill, Comrie, Monzievaird, Monzie and Crieff 1574.

DRUMMOND, William, cont'd

(Wodrow Misc., 359) Minister at Stodgeith with Crieff, Monzievaird and Monzie 1576-1580. (Assignations, 1576, fo. 36; 1580, fo. 34) Continued as minister of Stodgeith until 1589, when he also again had oversight of Crieff, etc. (Assignations, 1585, fo. 23v; 1589, fo. 30v) Late vicar of Crieff 1592. (RSS, 64, fo. 45)

DRYSDALE, Mr. Alexander

Student at St. Andrews 1557-1558. (St. A. Univ. Rec., 156; St. A. Acta, ii. 413) Vicar of Leny by 3 Feb., 1562/3. (Buchanan of Leny Writs, Box 4/Bundle 4; Feu Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 129) Married Elizabeth Menteith probably in 1563. (Buchanan of Leny Writs, Box 3B/no. 5) He was a canon of Inchmahome. (Hutton Collection, vii. fo. 113) Was vicar of Leny in 1573. (Cardross Writs, 69/5 & 7; 136) Vicar of Leny and servitor of David Erskine, commendator of Inchmahome 1580, 1581. (RMS, v. 752) Vicar there 1578. (A & D, 73, fo. 261) Reader at Tilli-coultry and Alva 1567. (Reg. Minr., fo. 28v) Exhorter in 1569 (deleted). (TB, 244) Reader again in 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 360)

DRYSDALE, sir Andrew

Possibly curate of Clackmannan, which parish pertained to Cambuskenneth, 9 Aug., 1553. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 302) Reader at Tullibody 1567. (Reg. Minr., 27) Late vicar (pensioner) of Tullibody 29 April, 1569. (RSS, vi. 604) Presented to the chaplaincy of St. Margaret in Edinburgh castle 22 June, 1559. (RSS, v. 602) Late chaplain of the castle 30 April, 1569. (RSS, vi. 605)

DUNNING, sir Thomas

Curate of Abruthven 7 March, 1545. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 148) Reader at Abruthven 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 29; TB, 253) Presented to vicarage of Trinity Gask, but this did not hold, 3 Aug., 1572. (RSS, vi. 1692, 1694) Still reader in 1574 and 1576. (Wodrow Misc., 358; Assignations, 1576, fo. 35)

DYKIS, John

Minister of Culross and Tulliallan 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 26; TB, 242) Minister of same plus Crombie 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359) Continued as minister of the above until 1580. (Assignations, passim; 1580, fo. 34v) Continued as minister of Culross and Tulliallan until 1589 and of Culross until 1591. (Assignations, 1589, fol. 36; 1591, fo. 27) He was active in the General Assembly and later in the Presbytery of Stirling. (BUK, passim; Stirling Presbytery Records, passim) In 1589/90 he was on the commission for Clackmannan to promote subscription to the confession of faith and covenant. (RPC, iv. 466)

EDMONSTON, Mr. William

Possibly student at St. Andrews 1566-1568. (St. A. Univ. Rec., 160, 162; St. A. Acta, ii. 426, 428) Minister at Kinfauns, had oversight of St. Madoes 1568-ca. 1573. (Reg. Minr., fo. 22) Minister of Kinfauns 1568-1572. (TB, 250, 251) Presented to the chancellorship of Dunkeld and parsonage of Lethendy 23 April, 1571. (RSS, vi. 1150) Presented again 18 Jan., 1575/6. (Ibid., vii. 403) Chancellor in 1583. (RMS, v. 1160) Minister of Cargill and Lethendy 1571-1572. (Reg. Minr., 19) Minister of Caputh, Cargill and Lethendy 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 354) Minister there until at least 1595. (Assignations, passim; 1595, fo. 23v) Presented to vicarage of Cargill 31 March, 1584. (Reg. Pres., ii. fol. 100) Deceased vicar of Cargill and late chancellor of Dunkeld 1605. (Reg. Pres., iii. fos. 113v, 114)

FERGY, Alexander

May have been a chaplain in Stirling in 1552 and 1559. (RSS, iv. 1637; RMS, iv. 1373) Minister of Logy and Clackmannan 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 27; TB, 251) Presented to vicarage (pensionary) of Tullibody 29 April, 1569. (RSS, vi. 604) Presented to vicarage of Kilmadock 30 Nov., 1571. (RSS, vi. 1383) Vicar of Tullibody 1571-1572. (TB, 251) Minister of Kilmadock, Kincardine, Lecropt, Logie 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 360) Still minister at those kirks through 1589. (Assignations, passim; 1589, fo. 32; Stirling Presbytery Records, 8 August, 1581) Continued as minister of Logie and vicar of Kilmadock and Tullibody; deceased, 1591/2. (RSS, 63, fo. 218, 224v) Fergy had become minister of Logie in 1564, for on 10 Dec., 1588, he was granted a stipend for diligence as minister of Logie for 24 years and is now "drawin to aige". (RSS, 58, fo. 85)

FORFAR, sir John

Inducted to chaplainry of Virgin Mary in Dunblane cathedral 25 January, 1549/50. (Stirlings of Aeir, no. 174) Resigned same by 3 February. (Ibid., no. 175) Canon of Dunblane 12 May, 1557. (Ibid., no. 187) Late prebendary of Logie 1562. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 71v)

GALALIE, sir Gilbert

Curate of Kilmahog 20 Oct., 1544. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 71) Reader at Kilmahog 1569-1572. (Reg. Minr., 30; TB, 253) Reader there 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 360)

GALT, Dene Patrick

Monk of Lindores 1560/1, (Carmichael of Balmedy Papers, no. 4) and in 1563/4. (Alexander Laing, Lindores Abbey and Its Burgh of Newburgh, 523) Minister of Portmoak and Kinglassie in 1563. (TB, 243) Minister of Abernethy and Abdie 1567-1573. (Reg. Minr., 27; TB, 243; P. Butler, Ancient Church and Parish of Abernethy, 339) Minister of Edrom 1574 with Duns, Fogo, Polwarth and Langton. (Wodrow Misc., 373) Claims right to benefice of Duns, 20 August, 1586. (RSS, 54, fo. 83v)

GAW, sir Alexander

Vicar (pensioner) of Abernethy 1550, 1551. (P.B. A. Gaw, no. 14; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 70) Reader at Muthill 17 May, 1564. (P.B. Andrew Drummond, fo. 61) Minister at Muthill and Strowan 1567-1572 (Reg. Minr., fo. 31; TB, 251) Called exhorter in 1568. (TB, 252) Minister of Muthill, Stroeith and Strowan 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 358) Minister of Trinity Gask with Findogask and Madderty part of the time until 1591. (Assignations, passim; 1591, fo. 22) May have continued in the ministry until into 17th century. (Ibid., 1614, fo. 53)

GLASS, Thomas

Possible chaplain in Strathearn 21 May, 1540. (RSS, ii. 3498) Reader at Monzievaird, Lammas 1568, exhorter 1570-1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 30v; TB, 253) Reader at Moneydie 1568-1569. (TB, 253) Deceased by 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359) Late vicar of Monzievaird 8 May, 1576. (RSS, vii. 589)

GORDON, Mr. Roger

Dean of Dunblane cathedral by 1550. (Inventory of Kinnoull Writs, Dupplin and Aberdalgie, Box 8/no. 1) Dean in 1558 and 1559 and on through the sixties. (RMS, iv. 1333; Cal. Charters, 1773; RMS, iv. 2126; passim; TA, xi. 309) He was thereby vicar of Dunblane. Minister of Whithorn with Glasserton, Kirkmaiden and Cruggleton 1572. (TB, 291; Reg. Minr., fo. 62) Minister there in 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 393) Bishop elect of Galloway 1578. (RSS, vii. 1646) Late dean 21 Feb., 1587/8. (RSS, 57, fo. 29) He was active in the General Assembly, being one of those assigned to admonish Alexander Gordon. (BUK, i. 282, passim)

GOURLAY, Mr. David

Possibly a student at St. Andrews 1519-1521. (St. A. Acta., ii. 332, 337) Vicar of Kemback 14 Oct., 1538. (RMS, iii. 1879) Priest in Dunblane 1541. (Ibid., iv. 432) Parson of Torry 1550/1. (P.B. R. Robbcock, no. 87) Vicar of Petty 27 June, 1556. (Drummond Castle Papers, Innerpeffray Writs, no. 7) Vicar of Abernethy 1561. (BA, fo. 297) Late vicar of Abernethy 6 June, 1565. (RSS, v. 2111) Factor of the Bishop of Dunblane 1551 and following until at least 1561. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 90; BA, fo. 285v)

GRAY, sir John

Daily chaplain of Dunning 20 Dec., 1544. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 108v) Mentioned with no designation in a testament at Dunning 27 Jan., 1544/5. (Ibid., i. fo. 128) Possibly the same sir John Gray was a chaplain at Edindonyng on 6 March, 1540/1. (Laing Charters, 451) Reader at Dunning 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 29; TB, 253) Reader there in 1574 and 1576. (Wodrow Misc., 358; Assignations, 1576, fo. 35)

GRENOK, sir John

Curate of Aberfoyle 5 Oct., 1544 and 26 Dec., 1545. (Dunb. Tests., i. fos. 69v, 120)

HAMILTON, Mr. James

Vicar (tacksman) of Muthill 1561 and 1566. (BA, fos. 305, 315; TB, 255)

HAMMYLL, sir John

Steward of Coupar Angus abbey 1555 and spent most of his time there. (Coupar Charters, ii. 205, *passim*; Feu Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 232) Prebendary (Vicar) of Kippen 7 July, 1550. (P.B. R. Rollock, no. 64) Prebendary 1559-1564. (RMS, iv. 1380, 1741; TB, 164, 269; Feu Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 131) Late vicar of Dunning and prebendary of Kippen 8 April, 1566. (RSS, v. 2743) Late vicar pensioner of Dunning 10 August, 1569. (RSS, vi. 708) Died 5 April, 1566. (Edin. Tests., 20 Jan, 1567/8)

HAMMYLL, Mr. John

Nephew of above. (RSS, vi. 708) Possibly student at St. Andrews 1554-1556. (St. A. Acta, ii. 404, 406; St. A. Univ. Rec., 151, 153) He was a minister by December 1562 when he had been attacked "under silence of nicht". (TA, xi. 233) Minister at Kinglassie and Portmoak 1563-1564. (TB, 243) Minister of Dunning, Auchterarder and Abruthven 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 31v; TB, 250-251) Minister of Auchterarder and notary public 18 Nov., 1569. (RMS, iv. 2164) Minister of Auchterarder, Kinkell, Abruthven, Dunning, 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 358) Minister at these kirks 1576-1580. (Assignations, 1576, fo. 35; 1580, fo. 33) Presented to vicarage of Auchterarder 28 June, 1568. (RSS, vi. 326) Presented to vicarage pensionary of Dunning 10 Aug., 1569. (RSS, vi. 708) Called vicar and minister of Dunning 1577. (RSS, vii. 1028) Presented to vicarage of Abruthven, styled minister of Auchterarder 1 March, 1582/3. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 87) Minister at Auchterarder 1585, with Kinkell, Abruthven and Dunning. (Assignations, 1585, fo. 20v)

HART, George

Son of Thomas Hart of Wester Luvelandis, burgess of Stirling. George was a scholar presented to the parsonage of Balquhiddy to provide for his education 9 Oct., 1570. (RSS, vi. 931) Possibly student at St. Andrews 1569-1570. (St. A. Acta, ii. 429; St. A. Univ. Rec., 163, 165) Prebendary of Balquhiddy 31 May, 1573. (RSS, vi. 1970) Demitted by 28 Nov., 1574. (Ibid., 2767)

HEGY, sir Andrew

Administrator of Cambuskenneth abbey 1550 and 1561/2. (ADCP, 600; Camb. Charters, cvii) Servitor of Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth. (Cambuskenneth Charters, cviii) Vicar of Falkirk 29 Jan., 1556/7, 1560, 1563-1566 and 1570 (RMS, iv. 1149; Cardross Writs, no. 57; TB, 268; Cal. Charters, 2183) Resigned vicarage of Falkirk 1576. (RSS, vii. 700) Vicar of Merton 24 March

HEGY, sir Andrew, cont'd.

1559/60. (RMS, iv. 2387) Late vicar of Merton 1582/3. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 84) Vicar of Kincardine 1 Jan., 1562/3. (RMS, iv. 2888) Escheated in 1566 for non payment of thirds. (TA, xii. 34)

HEGY, Dene David

Canon of Cambuskenneth 14 Jan., 1545/6. (Laing Charters, 505) Still canon 24 Dec., 1574. (Laing Charters, 904) Reader at Kincardine 1576. (Assignations, 1576, fo. 37) Late vicar of Kincardine 1584. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 122v)

HENDERSON, sir John

Curate of Tullibole 30 July, 1543. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 13) Also mentioned there 18 April, 1544 and 20 Dec., 1545. (Ibid., fo. 72v, 118v) Reader at Tullibole 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 26; TB, 253) Reader there in 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359)

HERBERTSON, Mr. Robert

Presented to chaplaincy of the Holy Blood in Glasgow cathedral 4 Aug., 1548. (RSS, iii. 2895) Chaplain of St. Peter and St. Paul, Glasgow 10 Jan., 1558/9, 5 June, 1560. (RMS, iv. 2497, 2496) Chaplain of St. Ninian of Dernly 1563. (Feu Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 14v) Parson of Ayr 1563, 1574/5, 1577. (RMS, iv. 2957; Cal. Charters, 2345, 2395; RMS, iv. 475) Late parson of Ayr 1582. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 76, 79) Late vicar of Rutherglen 13 July, 1582. (Ibid., ii. fo. 77) Presented to Ayr Primo 23 Sept., 1566. (RSS, v. 3070) Prebendary of Glasgow 5 June, 1564. (RMS, iv. 2956) Confirmed vicar of Glasgow 16 May, 1567. (RSS, v. 3541) Vicar Glasgow 1569. (RMS, v. 22) Executor of testament of John McGhe, late vicar of Abruthven 10 Dec., 1552. (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 13) Vicar of Abruthven by 20 Feb., 1557/8. (Feu Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 191, 194; RMS, vi. 215) Vicar there 1560, 1562, 1562/3, 1566/7. (Feu Charters of Kirklands, ii. fos. 142v-143; RMS, v. 250; Cal. Charters, 1901; RSS, v. 3169) Late vicar of Abruthven 1 March, 1582/3. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 76) Had a son, John, legitimated on 2 Feb., 1562/3. (RSS, v. 1221) When he died he was clerk of the commissary of Glasgow and still held the chaplainry of St. Peter and the vicarage of Abruthven. He died on 14 June, 1582. (Edin. Tests., 11 July, 1583)

HERIOT, William

Reader at Monzievaired 1565. (BUK, 58) Probably the same man as William Eviot, reader at Strathardail and Glenshee 1567-1572. (TB, 252; Reg. Minr., 19)

HUTSOUN, Mr. John

Possibly a student at St. Andrews 1543-1544. (St. A. Acta, ii. 398; St. A. Univ. Rec., 147) Presented to the vicarage pensionary of Glendevon 9 April, 1552. (RSS, iv. 1575) Vicar there 1561. (BA, fo. 314) Reader and pensioner at Glendevon 1568-1572. (Reg. Minr., 27; TB, 250, 253) Deceased by 1572, left relict Katherine Henderson. (TB, 253; RSS, vi. 1417)

KENNEDY, Mr. James

Possibly a student at St. Andrews 1519. (St. And. Univ. Rec., 215) Presented to parsonage of Aberfoyle 9 June, 1532. (RSS, ii. 1292) Parson there 1534, 1534/5, 1543/4, 1567. (RMS, iii. 1372; Cal. Charters, 1105; Abercairny Muhiments, 1/119; RMS, v. 143) Late parson of Aberfoyle 27 Aug., 1571. (RSS, vi. 1246) Chancellor of Dunblane cathedral 1546-1571. (Med. Fasti, 85) Mentioned as chancellor 1555, 1557. (RMS, iv. 1007, 1171) and in 1567. (Ibid., v. 143) Called chancellor and vicar general to the bishop 28 Dec., 1566. (RSS, v. 3155) As chancellor he held the vicarage of Kilmadock, as in 1561. (BA, fo. 315v) Paid curate of Kilmadock. (Dunb. Tests., i. 123v) Late vicar 27 Aug., 1571. (RSS, vi. 1246) Also late vicar of Aberuchil 1571. (Ibid., 1243) Parson of Carstairs 20 April, 1546. (GUA, Resignationes, 1546-1547, fo. 218v) Parson of Carstairs 14 June, 1567, (A & D, 42, fo. 456) and late parson, resigned, 30 Dec., 1570. (RSS, vi. 1043)

KER, sir John

Parson of Dupplin 5 Oct., 1543. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 39v, 40) Late parson, deceased, 22 April, 1569. (RSS, vi. 582)

KINPONT, Dene John

Monk of Culross 9 May, 1525 and 28 Jan., 1545/6. (Laing Charters, 350, 507) Serving as curate in parish of Culross 10 Oct., 1544 and 3 and 5 Dec., 1545. (Dunb. Tests., i. fos. 78v, 136b)

LENNOX, John

Reader at Pottie, Dron and Exmagirdle 1567. (Reg. Minr., fo. 30) Reader at Dron 1568-1572. (TB, 253) Reader at Exmagirdle 1574 and 1576. (Wodrow Misc., 358; Assignations, 1576, fo. 34v) No reader was necessary at Dron.

LERMONT, sir John

Vicar pensioner of Dunblane. Served the parish, called curate March 1539/40, Sept. 1543. (Dunb. Tests., i. fos. 5, 8v) He continued to serve. (Dunb. Tests., passim) Still curate 28 June, 1554. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 383v) He was in Dunblane in 1560, 15 April. (P.B. Andrew Drummond, fo. 52v) Vicar (pensioner) of Dunblane 23 March, 1567. (RMS, iv. 1999) Deceased vicar pensioner 20 Sept., 1586. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 157v) This same sir John probably held the chaplaincy of St. Blaise in Dunblane, 1561-1562, 1564, 1567. (Feu Charters of Kirklands, ii. fos. 93-93v; TB, 112, 165; RMS, iv. 2056) He may also be the man presented to the chaplaincy of St. Serf in Dunning on 11 March, 1537/8, (RSS, ii. 2463) which he held in 1561 and 1566. (BA, fo. 298; RMS, iv. 1746) Called late chaplain of Dunning 2 March, 1585/6. (Reg. Pres., ii. 142)

LERMONT, Michael (John)

Reader at Kilbride 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 29; TB, 253, exhorter in 1572) Minister of Kilbride, Leny, Kilmahog and Callander 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 360) Minister of Kilbride with Leny 1576 and later with Kincardine as well until 1588. (Assignations, 1576, fo. 37; 1588, fo. 32) He appears to have continued for a time as minister of Kilbride. (Ibid., 1589, fo. 30) Minister of Kilbride 1581. (Stirling Presbytery Records, 15 August, 1581) Presented to vicarage of Kincardine, minister there 28 Dec., 1584. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 122v)

LYN, sir Robert

Styled chaplain and curate of Dunning 4 Dec., 1551. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 110)

McCATHREN, John

Reader at Inchcailloch 1567. (Reg. Minr., 36) Exhorter at Aberfoyle 1567-1571. (Reg. Minr., 30; TB, 253) Deposed in 1571 "for certane offences committed be him". (Reg. Minr., 30)

McCORQUODALE, John

Exhorter at Balquhidder, Killin, Ardewan, Strathfillan 1567-1573. (Reg. Minr., 30) Presented to priory of Strathfillan 18 April, 1569, with parsonage and vicarage of Killin. (RSS, vi. 578) Minister of Strathfillan, Killin and Ardewan 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 356) Minister there 1576-1580. (Assignations, passim; 1580, fo. 31v) Still prior 15 Feb., 1581/2 and late prior 25 Nov., 1584. (RSS, 48, fol. 97v; 51, fo. 120v) Styled sir in 1584, but not in 1581/2. (Ibid., loc. cit.)

McGIBBON, Mr. Thomas (alias Robertson)

Master of the Grammar school of Dundee. (Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 87) Minister of Kinkell, Fowlis-Wester, Moneydie 2 Jan., 1567/8, presented to parsonage of Moneydie 2 Jan., 1567/8. (RSS, vi. 82) Parson of Moneydie 30 Aug., 1571. (Ibid., 1252) Minister at Moneydie, Auchtergavin, Kinclavin, Logiebride, Luncarty, and Redgorton 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 30v; TB, 251) Minister there in 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 357) Continued at Moneydie with a variety of other parishes under his supervision 1576. (Assignations, 1576, fo. 33) Continued at Moneydie until 1595. (Ibid., 1595, fo. 23v) Presented to vicarage of Moneydie 8 May, 1583. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 89) Died in July 1596. (Edin. Tests., 28 July, 1599)

McHARMIK, John

Reader At Aberfoyle 1568. (TB, 266)

McNAB, sir Patrick

Curate at Kilmahog in May 1551 and on 27 July, 1552. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fos. 49, 198v)

MARSHALL, Mr. Adam

Possibly a student at St. Andrews 1543-1544. (St. A. Acta, ii. 399; St. A. Univ. Rec., 148) He was in the parish previous to 1560, as on 22 April, 1552. (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 4v) Probably curate there, appeared with vicar pensioner of Fossoway in 1553. (Ibid., 15v) Exhorter at Fossoway 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 26; TB, 252) Reduced to reader there 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359) Continued as reader at Fossoway. (Assignations, passim) On 29 Aug., 1588, Marshall was presented to the vicarage pensionary of Fossoway and was to be tried to see if he was qualified to be a minister. (RSS, 58, fo. 14v) Minister of Fossoway 1585. (Assignations, 1585, fo. 28) He had apparently served as a minister earlier, as in 1581-1583. (Stirling Pres. Records, 8 August, 1581; 13 August, 1583) He was reduced again to reader, at Glendevon by 1589. (Assignations, 1589, fo. 32v) Deprived vicar pensioner 1591/2. (RSS, 63, fo. 148v)

MATHESON, Mr. Robert

Vicar pensioner of Findogask before 16 August, 1572. (RSS, vi.1707)

MATHIN, sir John (Mathy)

Possibly chaplain and principal curate of St. Andrews 1526 and 1528. (RMS, iii. 457, 587) Vicar of Monzie 20 June, 1535. (RMS, iii. 1486) Vicar of Monzie 21 March, 1552/3. (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 5) Possibly a vicar pensioner.

MELROSE, Dene William

Canon of Inchaffray 23 Dec., 1553. (Tods, Murray and Jamieson, no. 64) Canon there 1554 and 1555. (Ibid., no. 55; Drummond Castle Papers, Auchterarder Writs, Bundle 2/no. 5) Continued as canon after 1560, as in 1564. (Tods, Murray, and Jamieson, no. 55; Morton Papers, no. 1757) Exhorter at Trinity Gask and Findogask 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 31; TB, 250, 252) Called minister and parson of Dupplin 1567. (Reg. Minr., 30) Admitted to the parsonage of Dupplin, 22 April, 1569, exhorter at Findogask. (RSS, vi. 582) Styled minister at Findogask 16 Aug., 1571. (RPC, xiv. 109-110) Minister at Findogask, presented to vicarage pensionary there 1572. (RSS, vi. 1707) Minister at Fowlis-Wester, Madderty, Trinity Gask and Findogask 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359)

MENTEITH, sir Nigel

Curate of Callander 1544. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 93)

MENTEITH, Robert

Minister at Alva and Tillicoultry 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 28v; TB, 251) Translated to Dunblane in 1572. (Reg. Minr., 27; TB, 251) Minister of Dunblane 1574 and 1576. (Wodrow Misc., 360; Assignations, 1576, fo. 37) Minister of Dollar, Alva, Tillicoultry and Tullibody 1578-1580. (Assignations, passim; 1580, fo. 34v) Minister at Tillicoultry, Alva, Dollar 1585, 1586. (Assignations, passim) Minister at Tillicoultry and Alva 1588, 1589. (Ibid., 1589, fo. 32; RSS, 58, fo. 30) Deprived in 1589. (Fasti, iv. 295-296; SFDC, 1963, 64)

MILLAR, Dene Walter

Monk of Culross by May, 1562. (Cal. Charters, 1874b) Continued as member of the convent, as in 1564/5, 1567, 1575. (Laing Charters, 782; 828; Cal. Charters, 2353) He was called servant of the commendator of Culross in 1586 and monk there in 1587. (Cal. Charters, 2748; Laing Charters, 1154; Cardross Writs, 246, no. 1) Exhorter at Clackmannan and Culross 1567-1569. (Reg. Minr., 26; TB, 244) Exhorter at Tulliallan, Culross, and Clackmannan 1571-1572. (TB, 252) Reader at Culross 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359)

MONCRIEFF, Mr. John

Possibly student at St. Andrews 1527-1529. (St. A. Acta, ii. 357, 361; St. A. Univ. Rec., 120, 122)*Vicar of Dunbarney and exhorter there 1561-1572. (TB, 93, 151, 255) Vicar of Dunbarney, respite to 20 Sept., 1578. (RSS, vii. 1651) Late vicar of Dunbarney and Dron 1579. (Ibid., 2168)*Vicar of Dunbarney 21 April, 1557. (The Moncreiffs and the Moncreiffes, p.80.)

MONTGOMERY, Mr. Robert

A minister in 1560. (BUK, 4) Minister at Coupar 1562-1564. (TB, 241; BUK, 46) He may have been a student at St. Andrews in 1534-1535. (St. A. Acta, ii. 376) Minister of Dunblane and Kilbride 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 31v; TB, 251; BUK, i. 204) Minister of Stirling 1572, 1574-1581. In 1581 he accepted the bishopric of Glasgow from Lennox. (Reg. Minr., 5; Wodrow Misc., 365; Spottiswood's History, ii. 281) Resigned bishopric. Minister at Symington. Died in 1609. For biographical details see: BUK, passim; DNB; SFDC, 1963, p.61-64, etc.

MURRAY, Dene Alexander

Canon of Inchaffray by 1554. (Tods, Murray, and Jamieson, no. 55; Inchaffray Charters, xcix) Canon there in 1560. (Inchaffray Charters, xcv) Probably canon in 1564/5, (RMS, v. 174) and canon in 1575. (Laing Charters, 930) Last member of the abbey 1607. (Liber Ins. Miss., 136) Reader at Kinkell 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 29; TB, 254) Reader at Kinkell 1574, 1576-1585. (Wodrow Misc., 358; Assignations, passim; 1585, fo. 20v)

MURRAY, sir David

Styled pensioner (probably curate) of Fowlis-Wester 22 March, 1551/2. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 146v) Reader at Fowlis-Wester 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 29; TB, 254) Continued as reader there 1574-1579. (Wodrow Misc., 359; Assignations, 1579, fo. 32v; Edin. Tests., 14 April, 1578)

MURRAY, James

Reader at Strowan 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 28; TB, 254) Reader there 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 358) Reader from 1576-1585. (Assignations, passim; 1585, fo. 23)

MURRAY, sir John

Curate of Fowlis-Wester 13 Jan., 1546/7. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 165)

MURRAY, Dene Patrick

Canon of Inchaffray by 1548. (P.B. Robert Rollok, no. 57) Canon in 1556, when prior of Strathfillan, sir Thomas Melville resigned that income to Murray. (GUA, Resignationes, 1556-1559, fo. 181) Canon 1557/8, and vicar of Fowlis-Wester 1558/9 and 1561. (Inchaffray Charters, Intro., c; Lib. Ins. Miss., 121-122; BA, fo. 315v) Still canon at the Reformation, as in 1564/5. (RMS, v. 174) Continued to receive his portion, as in 1579. (Inchaffray Charters, Intro., c) Late canon of Inchaffray 1590. Styled "Patrik Murray of Newraw ane of the conventuall brethirn". (RSS, 61, fo. 87v)

MURRAY, Mr. William

Treasurer of Dunblane cathedral 1534-1567. (Med. Fasti, 86-87; Laing Charters, 582; RSS, v. 3433) Chaplain of an altar at St. Andrews 1563. (RMS, iv. 2153) Other Murrays competed for the treasurership during his tenure. (GUA, Resignationes, 1550-1551, fo. 26v; Med. Fasti, 86-87)

MURYE, sir David

Possibly pre-Reformation chaplain in Auchterarder, as in 1553. (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 23) Reader at Auchterarder 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 29; TB, 254) Reader at Auchterarder 1574 and 1576-1580. (Wodrow Misc., 358; Assignations, passim; 1580, fo. 33)

MUSCHET, sir Mathew

Possibly chaplain 20 June, 1535. (RMS, iii. 1486) Curate of Kilbride 28 Jan. and 28 Feb., 1543/4 and 2 Nov., 1546. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 33, 147) Curate in 1551. (Dunb. Consistorial Act B. i. fo. 29)

OLIPHANT, Dene William

Canon of Inchaffray 10 Feb., 1551/2. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 133) Vicar perpetual of Trinity Gask 29 July, 1551. (Ibid., i. fo. 77v) Vicar there 1564. (TA, xi. 332) Canon 1564. (Few Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 31) Canon and vicar perpetual 20 Feb., 1565/6. (RSS, v. 2647) Late vicar 3 Aug., 1572. (RSS, vi. 1692, 1694)

PATON, Mr. James

Minister of Muckhart with Dollar and Glendevon 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 28v; TB, 251) Promoted to the bishopric of Dunkeld 8 Sept., 1571. (RSS, vi. 2812) Mandate for consecration as bishop of Dunkeld 20 July, 1572. (Ibid., 1672) Election by dean and chapter 27 April, 1573. (Ibid., 1943) Handled presentations for the diocese and granted pensions. (RSS, vi. and vii., passim) Put to the horn 1 Nov., 1575 for non-payment of thirds. (RSS, vii. 1521) For biographical details see: DNB, and Fasti, v. 67.

PHILIPSON, sir Donald

Probably curate of Muthill 13 Feb., 1550/1. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 18v) Curate there 11 July, 1551. (Ibid., fo. 70)

PONT, Mr. Robert (Kinpont)

From Culross area, son of Robert Kinpont and Katherine Masterton. (Cal. Charters, 1247, 1488, 2724) Possessed family land there until 1584. (Ibid., no. 2724) Appointed minister at Dunblane 2 July, 1562, (BUK, 18) to Dunkeld 29 Dec., 1562. (Ibid., 28) May previously have served as notary, as in 1560. (Feu Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 74v) Commissioner of Maray 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 58; TB, 193, 214, 217 & n.; RPC, ii. 68) Presented to parsonage and vicarage of Birnay 13 Jan., 1567/8. (RSS, vi. 107) Birnay allowed to him 1568-1572; he must therefore have been minister there. (TB, 214) Demitted Birnay 28 Aug., 1574. (RSS, vi. 2649) Presented to provostry of Trinity College 27 Jan., 1571/2, which third was remitted 1571-1572. (RSS, vi. 1456; TB, 274) He was for some years involved in a dispute over Trinity College with the burgh of Edinburgh, from 1578/9 until 1585. (Extracts Edin. Council, iv. 101, 103, 127, 371) In 1584 a yearly "dewtie" by the town to Pont was arranged. (Ibid., 373) He resigned Trinity to the town 23 June, 1585. (RMS, v. 1262; Extracts Edin. Council, iv. 403-405, 433) Became Lord of Session in 1572. (BUK, 66) Minister of St. Cuthberts with William Harlaw 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 368) Presented to vicarage of St. Cuthberts 29 Dec., 1578. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 11v) Pont was a strong supporter of Presbyterianism and refused to sign the Act of Conformity. (RPC, iii. 703, 713n) For biographical details see: DNB; Fasti, viii. 468; Calderwood, History, passim; BUK, passim; Brunton and Haig, College; SFDC, 1963, p. 56-58.

QUHITE, sir John

Possibly legitimated son of sir John Quhite 15 March, 1540/1. (RSS, ii. 3927) Curate of Tullicheddill 20 June, 1546, 27 April, 1552. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 139; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 163v) Curate there in 1560. (RMS, iv. 2062) Reader at Tullicheddill 1567. (Reg. Minr., fo. 30v) Reader at Tullicheddill 1567 or 1568-1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 30v; TB, 254) Still reader in 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359)

REDOCK, Thomas

May have been a priest in the diocese 1562. (Drummond Castle Papers, Innerpeffray Writs, bundle 1/no. 9) Reader at Kilmadock 1569. (Reg. Minr., 30)

ROBISOUN, Mr. David

Presented to vicarage of Abernethy 6 June, 1565. (RSS, v. 2111) Late vicar Abernethy 11 Sept., 1572. (Ibid., vi. 1723)

RODGER, Mr. Patrick

Possibly student at St. Andrews 1508-1510. (St. A. Acta, ii. 289, 294; St. A. Univ. Rec., 96, 97) Possibly legitimated son of Mr. Patrick Rodger 8 June, 1526. (RSS, i. 3377) Curate of Strowan 2 July, 1560. (RMS, iv. 2062)

ROLLAND, Mr. James

Student at St. Andrews 1519-1521. (St. A. Univ. Rec., 109, 111; St. A. Acta, ii. 332, 337) Lawyer there 1543-1544. (Ibid., i. cliv) Presented to prebend (parsonage) of Balquhiddy, 8 Sept., 1545. (RSS, iii. 1316) Parson of Balquhiddy, canon of Dunblane 1546/7, 1548/9. (RMS, v. 1274; iv. 298) Parson of Balquhiddy 1564. (Cal. Charters, 1961) Late parson 9 Oct., 1570. (RSS, vi. 931) Vicar of Glamis 1543, 1554-1555, 1558. (St. A. Acta, i. cliv; RSS, iv. 2808; TA, x. 251; Cal. Charters, no. 1755) Late vicar of Glamis 17 Oct., 1570. (RSS, vi. 943) Presented to prebend of Rungallie and Duray in St. Andrews 8 Aug., 1553. (RSS, iv. 2080) Vicar of same 1564. (TB, 246) Prebendary there 1567/8. (Cal. Charters, 2102) Late prebendary 9 Oct., 1570. (RSS, vi. 929) Died in September 1570. (Edin. Tests., 22 Nov., 1570)

RUTHVEN, Mr. George

Vicar of Fowlis-Wester 1553/4. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 349v) May have been a student at St. Andrews in 1522-1524. (St. A. Univ. Rec., 112, 114; St. A. Acta, ii. 340, 346)

RUTHVEN, Dene William

Canon of Inchaffray 1554, 1555. (Tods, Murray and Jamieson, no. 55; Drummond Castle Papers, Auchterarder Writs, Bundle 2/no.5) Canon after 1560, as in 1564. (Tods, Murray, and Jamieson, no. 55) Possessed "hortum" at Inchaffray 1564/5. (RMS, v. 174) Still canon in 1575. (Laing Charters, 930) Chamberlain of Inchaffray 1571. (Edin. Tests., 30 July, 1574) Reader at Findogask 1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 31) Reader at Trinity Gask in 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359) Presented to the vicarage of Trinity Gask 3 Aug., 1572. (RSS, vi. 1694) Reader at Trinity Gask until 1586,, (Assignations, passim; 1586, fo. 24) but called late vicar of Fowlis-Wester and Trinity Gask, deceased, 24 Sept. 1584 and 1 Feb., 1584/5. (Reg. Pres., i. fos. 111v, 122v)

SCOT, James

Possibly a Black Friar at Perth 30 Nov., 1548. (Milne, Blackfriars of Perth, 241) Reader at Monzie 1567. (Reg. Minr., 29) More likely a local man.

SCOT, sir Thomas

Curate and exhorter at Trinity Gask 1564/5. (A & D, 32, fo. 404) Serving as reader at Findogask 1567-1572. (Fasti, iv. 287; Reg. Minr., 29; TB, 254) Deposed in November 1572. (Reg. Minr., 29) He was reader again in 1574, 1576, 1578. (Wodrow Misc., 359; Assignations, 1576, fo. 35v; 1578, fo. 32f)

SCOT, William

Possibly student at St. Andrews 1563-1564. (St. And. Univ. Rec., 270-271; St. A. Acta, ii. 390, 393) Reader at Monzie 1568-1572. (TB, 254) Reader there 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359) Presented to vicarage of Monzie 3 July, 1573; canon of Dunblane and prebendary of Monzie 1573/4. (RSS, vi. 2023; RMS, v. 425) Reader at Monzie 1576-1588. (Assignations, passim; 1588, fo. 32v) Deprived in 1590 as an abuser of the sacraments. (RPC, xiv. 373; iv. 521-522, called vicar and reader) Deprived 1 Dec., 1591 for his "inhabilitie conforme to the ordour ecclesiastical" (RSS, 63, fo. 84v)

SCOT, sir William

Probable curate of Callander. In the parish in 1551/2. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 130v) Appeared with vicar of Callander on 3 August, 1554. (Ibid., ii. fo. 395) Styled minister at Callander 9 June, 1563. (Feu Charters of Kirklands, i. fo. 130) Reader at Callander and possibly Leny 1569-1572. (Reg. Minr., fo. 33; TB, 254) Reader there 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 360) Minister of Kilmahog and Callander 1576-1601, having Kilmahog and generally oversight of Callander. (Assignations, passim; 1601, fo. 27) Styled exhorter of Callander in 1581/2. (Stirling Presbytery Records, 13 March, 1581/2)

SETON, Alexander (of Northrig)

Held vicarage of Aberfoyle 1567. (TB, 254) Father of Henry Seton, who later possessed this benefice. (RMS, v. 143)

SETON, Henry

Son of above, Alexander Seton. Vicar of Aberfoyle 21 Dec., 1567, when he put manse and glebe in feu to Malise Graham in Clas. (RMS, v. 143) Vicar on 24 Aug., 1569. (RMS, iv. 1903) Deprived 6 July, 1573, for failure to compare and subscribe the articles of religion before the superintendent of Strathearn. (RSS, vi. 2027)

SETON, Robert

Son of Walter Seton of Tullibody, provided to perpetual vicarage of Logy 27 Nov., 1562. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 71v) Prebendary of Dunblane and vicar of Logie 17 May, 1567. (RMS, iv. 2378) Prebend confirmed 3 March, 1581/2. (Reg. Pres. ii, fo. 71v) Vicar 1595-1605. (RPC, v. 668; RMS, vi 794, 696, 1607)

SIMSON, Mr. Andrew

Master of Perth grammar school 1550-1560. (DNB; Row, History, 8n, 9, 422) Minister at Dunning and Cargill 1564, translated that year to Dunbar. (BUK, 49) Minister of Dunbar 1567-1574. (Reg. Minr., 9; TB, 276; BUK, 204; ; Wodrow Misc., 372) Schoolmaster at Dunbar 1575. (RPC, ii. 478) Presented to parsonage of Dunbar 31 Aug., 1568. (RSS, vi. 462, 1341) Demitted same 14 Sept., 1582. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 78v) Strong Presbyterian at time of the "Black Acts", (Calderwood, History, iv. 211, 247) Late minister of Dalkeith 1591. (RSS, 61, fo. 150v) For biographical details see: DNB; BUK, passim; Row, History, passim.

SINCLAIR, Mr. John

Vicar of Comrie 9 March, 1550/1; 7 July, 1552. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fos. 29, 130) Vicar there in 1561. (BA, fo. 312) Still vicar in 1570 and 1577. (RSS, vi. 1023; Burnett-Stuart Collection, no. 25) Late vicar, deceased, 2 Nov., 1591. (RSS, 63, fo. 3) Received right to teinds and dues of the provostry of Innerpeffray, with the help of the parishioners 11 Feb., 1548/9. (ADCP, 581) Principle chaplain of Innerpeffray 1551. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 96v) Provost 1566, 1567. (TB, 255; RMS, iv. 2378)

SINCLAIR, sir Stephen

Vicar of Aberfoyle 4 Dec., 1543. (RMS, iii. 2972) Still vicar in 1561. (BA, fo. 318)

SPENS, Dene George

Canon of Inchaffray, indicted for slaughter of another canon, Dene John Yestir; received respite 21 April, 1545. (RSS, iii. 1130) Continued as canon 1554, 1558. (Tods, Murray and Jamieson, no. 55; Inchaffray Charters, c.) Canon in 1564/5. (RMS, v. 174) Reader at Madderty 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359) Continued as reader until 1586. (Assignations, 1586, fo. 21) Late vicar of Kinkell 1588. (RSS, 57, fos. 71v, 81)

STEVENSON, sir Donald

Curate of Kippen 8 Oct., 1536. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 3v) Curate there 10 May, 1541, (A & D, 32, fo. 196) and 20 March, 1545/6. (Dunb. Tests., i. fo. 147) Curate there 10 Dec., 1553. (Ibid., ii. fo. 29v)

STIRLING, William

Canon of Inchmahome by 8 Aug., 1562. (RBM, ii. 352) Canon 1573. (Cardross Writs, 59; Laing Charters, 881) Was still canon in 1605. (Airlie Papers, 48/50) Reader at the Port 1569-1573 and Aberfoyle 1571-1573. (Reg. Minr., fo. 33) Reader at Kippen 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 366) Reader at the Port 1578-1580. (Assignations, 1578, fo. 34; 1580, fo. 35) Minister at Kippen and the Port 1585, 1586. (Assignations, 1585, fo. 28v; 1586, fo. 33v) Reader again at the Port 1588 and 1589. (Assignations, 1588, fo. 38v; 1589, fo. 33) Styled exhorter at the Port 16 Jan., 1581/2. (Stirling Presbytery Records)

STIRLING, Mr. William

Student at St. Andrews 1567-1570. (St. A. Univ. Rec., 164, 274; St. A. Acta, ii. 432) Presented to parsonage of Aberfoyle and vicarage of Kilmadock 27 Aug., 1571. (RSS, vi. 1246) Was parson for many years, as 1577, 1586, 1596, 1608. (RMS, iv. 2912; v. 1528; vii. 1779; 1102) Former parson 9 Feb., 1522. (RMS, viii. 405) Minister of Aberfoyle 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 360) Minister of Aberfoyle and the Port 1576-1580. (Assignations, passim) Minister at Aberfoyle only 1585-1589. (Ibid., passim) Minister of Aberfoyle 1590. (Ibid., 1590, fo. 33) Minister at

STIRLING, Mr. William, cont'd.

Kincardine and possibly Aberfoyle 1593-1597. (Assignations, passim) Minister at the Port and Leny 1599, 1601, 1608 and the Port, Leny, and Aberfoyle 1614. (Assignations, passim; 1614, fo. 53) Commissioned to assign the fruits of the bishopric of Dunblane 23 Dec., 1590. (RSS, 61, fo. 99)

STRATHENRY, sir Andrew

Prebendary (vicar) of Monzie 24 April, 1554. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 363v) Vicar Monzie and notary public 12 March, 1554/5. (RMS, iv. 1058) Vicar 20 Feb., 1556/7. (Stirlings of Keir, no. 187; RMS, iv. 1157) Vicar there 14 April, 1560. (P.B. Andrew Drummond, fo. 52) Late vicar deceased 3 July, 1573. (RSS, vi. 2023)

THOMPSON, Dene James

Canon of Inchmahome 16 April, 1526; 5 July, 1535. (Cal. Charters, 985; Airlie Papers, 47/1) Vicar of Leny 9 June, 1549 and 11 August, 1552. (Buchanan of Leny Writs, Box 3B/ no. 3; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 204v)

THOMPSON, sir John

Vicar of Balquhider 12 Oct., 1554. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 404) Vicar there in 1559. (Drummond Castle Papers, Box 2/Bundle 4) Late Vicar, deceased, 10 Jan., 1568/9. (RSS, vi. 50)

URE, Dene John

Canon of the Augustinian priory in St. Andrews. (Calderwood, History, iii. 186) Possibly student at St. Andrews 1551-1552. (St. A. Acta, 401) Minister at Leuchars 30 June and 1 Dec., 1563. (St. A. K. S. R., 158, 161) Possibly transferred to Menteith area in 1564, where there was need for a Gaelic-speaking minister. (BUK, 47) Minister at Leuchars 1565/6. (HMC, vii. 724), and in 1572/3, 1589. (RMS, iv. 2181; St. A. K. S. R., 646)

WATSON, sir Adam

Curate of Kippen 12 July, 1553. (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 33)

WAWANE, sir George

Vicar of Dunsyre 1522. (Stirlings of Keir, no. 104) Vicar of Kilconquhar 1538. (RMS, iii. 1879) Called parson of Monzie 1532. (Arbroath, ii. 510) Prebendary (vicar) of Monzie 1534/5. (Cal. Charters, 1105) Archdeacon of Dunblane 23 March, 1549/50, 20 Feb., 1551/2, 19 Feb., 1557/8. (Stirlings of Keir, no. 179; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 136; Stirlings of Keir, no. 189) Was deceased by 1563/4, when Mr. James Chisholm was archdeacon. (A & D, 29, fo. 170-170v) Vicar of Logy 1542. (GUA, Annates, 1542-1543, fo. 73v)

WEMYSS, John

Reader at Abernethy and Abdie 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 27; TB, 254) Reader at Abernethy presented to vicarage there. (RSS, vi. 1723) Reader there 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 358) Reader there, with vicarage, 1576-1594. (Assignations, passim; 1594, fo. 19v) Demitted vicarage of Abernethy 9 Oct., 1587. (RSS, 56, fo. 49v) Deceased by 5 Sept., 1595. (Ibid., 67, fo. 203v)

WEMYSS, Patrick

Minister of Dunbarney, Moncrieff, Dron, Pottie, Exmagirdle, Arngask, Rhind 1567-1572. (Reg. Minr., 27; TB, 251) Minister there and Abernethy 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 357) Presented to parsonage of Dunbarney, Pottie, and Moncrieff 24 July, 1568. (RSS, vi. 400) Minister at these parishes 1576-1585. (Assignations, passim) Minister at Dron, Dunbarney, Pottie, Moncrieff and Rhind 1586 and continued at Dunbarney until 1608. (Assignations, passim; 1608, fo. 23; RSS, 56, fo. 49v; RMS, vi. 693, 1857, 1898) Presented to vicarage of Dunbarney, minister there, 22 March, 1596/7. (RSS, 69, fo. 81)

WILSON, Mr. Stephen

Presented to parsonage of Glendevon on demission of bishop of Dunblane 22 June, 1566. (RSS, v. 2908) Parson there 1574. (RSS, vi. 2423; RMS, iv. 2468) Parson of Glendevon 1577-1578. (Burnett-Stuart Collection, no. 25; Tods, Murray and Jamieson, no. 64) Confirmed as vicar of Kirkcaldy 4 Feb., 1565/6. (RSS, v. 2607) Ratified 28 May, 1576. (RSS, vii. 626) Vicar there 1569-1570. (TB, 246) Escheated for failure to pay thirds for 1567, 17 Sept., 1568. (RSS, vi. 492) Fruits of Kirkcaldy given to others 19 Jan., 1571/2. (RSS, vi. 1441) Involved in action to recover part of the teinds in 1577. (A & D, 68, fo. 181v) Presented to vicarage perpetual of Kinghorn Easter 7 Oct., 1566 and vicar there 1568. (RSS, v. 3093; vi. 492) Presented to parsonage of Moffat 16 April, 1582. (RSS, 48, fo. 146) Parson there 1585, 1587, 1592. (RMS, v. 899; vi. 248; RSS, 64, fo. 193v) Wilson was primarily a servant of the crown. He was dispatched to France in Feb., 1559/60, and returned in April 1560. (Mission De La Brosse, 73, 133; TA, xi. 12) Said to be a relative of the bishop of Dunblane. (Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 797, 812) He was captured in Nov., 1560 attempting to take letters to France. (Ibid., 918) Knox says he was principal courier of letters by Papists to France and Rome, August 1561. (Knox, History, i. 373) Received gift of pension from Galloway for service in France and Scotland 18 July, 1561; called pensioner of Galloway 1574. (RSS, v. 824; vi. 2434) Accompanied De Gouda to Edinburgh 1562. (Papal Neg., 130-131) Deceased parson of Glendevon and vicar of Moffat 1601. (Reg. Pres., iii. fos. 46, 46v, 48)

WRICHT, sir John

Chaplain of the choir in Dunblane 18 Jan., 1532/3. (RMS, iii. 1257) Vicar of Callander 1548, and 20 July, 1554. (ADCP, 575; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 389v) Vicar in 1561 and continued through 1572, as well as chaplain of St. Michael in Dunblane. (BA, fo. 312v; TB, 165, 254)

APPENDIX III

This appendix gives a brief biography of those monks and canons from Inchaffray, Inchmahome, and Culross who were probably alive in 1560, but who did not hold a benefice or serve as a Reformed cleric within Dunblane diocese.

BAXTER, Dene John

Canon of Inchmahome before 2 February, 1562/3. (Hutton Collection, vii. fo. 113) Designated canon 25 July, 1573, 7 September, 1579, and in 1583. (Laing Charters, 881; Hutton Collection, vii. fo. 116; RBM, ii. 365) Was still a canon on 5 February, 1605. (Airlie Papers, 48/50)

BRADFUT, Dene James

Canon of Inchmahome by 16 April, 1526. (Cal. Charters, 985; RBM, ii. 331) Canon on 5 July, 1535, (Airlie Papers, 47/1), and styled sub-prior in 1548. (RBM, ii. 335; Cardross Writs, 201) At Inchmahome in 1549 and 1553, (Airlie Papers, 47/1; Dubb. Tests., ii. fo. 22v) and serving as sub-prior, as in 1555 and 1562. (Cardross Writs, 56; RBM, ii. 352) Remained at the house for many years after the Reformation, and noted at various times, e.g., 1562/3, 1573, 1579, 1583 and 1587. (Hutton Collection, vii. fos. 113, 116; Laing Charters, 889; Cardross Writs, 15/59; RBM, ii. 365, 367)

CAR, Dene Robert

Canon of Inchaffray by 23 December, 1553, and possibly considerably earlier. (Tods, Murray, and Jamieson, 64; cf. Laing Charters, 407) Noted as canon in 1554 and after the Reformation, as in 1564, 1564/5. (Tods, Murray, and Jamieson, 55; Morton Papers, no. 1757; RMS, v. 174; P.B. James Drummond, fos. 54v-55)

CHRISTISON, Dene Adam

Canon of Inchmahome by 16 April, 1526. (RBM, ii. 331; Cal. Charters, 985) Canon 5 July, 1535 and 6 December, 1546, (Airlie Papers, 47/1) and in 1548. (RBM, ii. 335; Cardross Writs, 201) It is uncertain whether he was alive in 1560, but he is recorded at the priory in 1552/3, and 1555. (Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, ii. fo. 249v; Hutton Collection, vii. fo. 110; Cardross Writs, 56)

CHRISTISON, Dene Robert

Monk of Culross by 9 May, 1525. (Laing Charters, 350) He was at the monastery for many years, and his signature occurs regularly on documents, as in 1535, 1540, 1546, 1552. (Ibid., 399; Cal. Charters, 1238, 1391a, 1573; PSAS, xli. 326, no. 37) He remained at the monastery long after 1560, and, although not

CHRISTISON, Dene Robert, cont'd.

a serving Protestant clergyman, he subscribed to the new faith. (BA, fo. 283; A & D, 26, fo. 382v) Recorded as monk 1562-1569. (Cal. Charters, 1874b, 1951, 2139; Laing Charters, 782, 818, 828, 844) He was still at the monastery in 1575, 1580, 1582. (Cal. Charters, 2353; RMS, v. 170; PSAS, xli, no. 70) Called late monk of Culross in 1585, (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 130) he probably died in 1584. (RSS, 61, fo. 128) Brother of sir Thomas Christison, vicar of Monzievaird and parson of Yetholm. (Edin. Tests., 29 July, 1579)

CUNNINGHAM, Dene Paul

Canon of Inchaffray by 1553. (Tods, Murray, and Jamieson, 64) Noted as canon in 1554 and 1557. (Ibid., 55; Lib. Ins. Miss., 120) Canon after 1560, as on 18 February, 1564/5. (Morton Papers, no. 1757; RMS, v. 174) On 8 April, 1565, he received 13 acres of the mains of Inchaffray in place of his yearly pension, and was styled "sumtyme channon". (RSS, v. 2017) Still at Inchaffray in 1575. (Laing Charters, 930)

DEWQUHIR, Dene Robert

Monk of Culross by 9 May, 1525. (Laing Charters, 350) He regularly signed documents at the house, as in 1535, 1540, 1541, 1543, 1545, 1546. (Ibid., 399, 456, 507; Cal. Charters, 1238, 1337, 1391a, 1399b; PSAS, xli, 327, no. 37) Still a monk in the 1550s, (Laing Charters, 582; Cal. Charters, 1573) At the Reformation he refused to conform to Protestantism, (BA, fo. 283; A & D, 26, fo. 382v) but continued on at the monastery, 1562-1569. (Cal. Charters, 1874b, 1951, 2139; Laing Charters, 782, 818, 828, 844) Still a monk at Culross 1580-1583. (RMS, v. 170; PSAS, xli, no. 70; Laing Charters, 1068)

FARMER, Dene Andrew

Canon of Inchaffray by 14 January, 1544/5. (Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcvi.) Canon there 1553-1555. (Tods, Murray and Jamieson, 55, 64; Drummond Castle Papers, Auchterarder Writs, Bundle 2/no. 5; Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcix) At the abbey after the Reformation, as in 1564. (Cal. Charters, 1944) Received settlement for pension, called "ane of the brethren", 17 August, 1564. (P.B. James Drummond, fos. 54v-55)

GARDINAR, Dene Thomas

Canon of Inchaffray by 28 April, 1536. (Laing Charters, 407) Styled canon in 1544/5, 1553, 1554. (Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcvi, xcix; Tods, Murray & Jamieson, 55, 64) Styled sub-prior in 1555 and 1557. (Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcix; Lib. Ins. Miss., 120) Styled prior in 1557 and 1560. (Inchaffray Charters, xcix, xcv) Continued to be styled prior after the Reformation, as in 1564; was still prior in 1575. (Morton Papers, no. 1757; P.B. James Drummond, fos. 54v-55; Laing Charters, 930)

HOLKAT, Dene Robert

Monk of Culross by 7 May, 1540. (Cal Charters, 1238) Recorded at the monastery throughout 1540s, (Laing Charters, 442, 456, 507; Cal. Charters, 1337, 1391a, 1399b) and recorded in the 1550s. (Cal. Charters, 1573) At the Reformation he refused to conform to Protestantism (BA, fo. 283; A & D, 26, fo. 382v), but continued at Culross, 1562-1569. (Cal. Charters, 1874b, 1951, 2139; Laing Charters, 782, 818, 828, 844) He was still at the monastery in 1583 and 1584. (Laing Charters, 1068; Cal. Charters, 2724, 2728)

HUTCHISON, Dene John

Became a monk at Culross at an uncertain date, but probably shortly before 1560. Recorded as a monk on 6 May, 1562. (Cal. Charters, 1874b) He was serving as a minister at Crombie, Inverkeithing, and Torryburn by 1567 until ca. 1572. (Reg. Minr., 26; TB, 251) Left ministry by 1574. (Wodrow Misc., 359-360) At the monastery 1564-1569. (Cal. Charters, 1951; Laing Charters, 782, 818, 828, 844) Late monk of Culross 1585. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 130) He probably died in 1584, for his portion for 1584 to 1590 was granted to another in 1590/1. (RSS, 61, fo. 128)

KELT, Dene William

Canon of Inchaffray by 1521. (Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcvi.) Canon in 1536, 1544/5, 1554. (Ibid., xcvi-xcix; Laing Charters, 407) Possibly still alive in 1564. (RMS, v. 174)

McCLELLAN, Dene Thomas

Canon of Inchmahome by 16 April, 1526. (Cal. Charters, 985; RBM, ii. 331) Canon there in 1535 and 1546-1549. (Airlie Papers, 47/1, Cardross Writs, 201; RBM, ii. 335) Still canon in 1553 and 1555. (Dunb. Tests., ii. fo. 22v; Cardross Writs, 56; Hutton Collection, vii. fo. 110) He was still alive at the priory in 1562 and 1562/3. (RBM, ii. 352; Hutton Collection, vii. fo. 113)

MONT, Dene John

Canon of Inchmahome in 1526. (RBM, ii. 331; Cal Charters, 985) Appears as canon in 1535, 1548, and 1552. (Airlie Papers, 47/1; RBM, ii. 335; Dunb. Consistorial Act Book, i. fo. 172v) Last identification as canon is in 1555. (Hutton Collection, vii. fo. 110; Cardross Writs, 56)

PATTERSON, Dene George

Monk of Culross by 9 May, 1525. (Laing Charters, 350) Noted as monk in 1535 and 1540-1546/7. (Ibid., 399, 442, 456, 507; Cal. Charters, 1238, 1543) Still a monk in 1552 (Cal. Charters, 1573), and continued at Culross after the Reformation 1562-1575. (Cal. Charters, 1874b, 1951, 2139, 2353; Laing Charters, 782, 818, 828) He became a Protestant in faith, but did not serve as a Reformed cleric. (BA, fo. 283; A & D, 26, fo. 382v)

PEBLES, Dene Adam

Canon of Inchmahome by 1526. (RBM, ii. 331; Cal. Charters, 985) Canon in 1535 and 1546-1548. (Airlie Papers, 47/1; Cardross Writs, 201; RBM, ii. 335) Last identification as canon in 1555. (Hutton Collection, vii. fo. 110; Cardross Writs, 56)

PRIMROSE, Dene Archibald

Monk of Culross by 1540. (Cal. Charters, 1238) Recorded as monk in 1540s and in 1552. (Laing Charters, 442, 456, 507; Cal. Charters, 1391a, 1399b, 1573) He became a Protestant, but did not serve as a new church cleric. (BA, fo. 283; A & D, 26, fo. 382v) At Culross after the Reformation, 1562-1575. (RSS, v. 1122; Laing Charters, 783, 818, 828, 844; Cal. Charters, 2139, 2353) Still styled member of the convent 1583-1587. (Laing Charters, 1068, 1086, 1120, 1154; Cal. Charters, 2724, 2748) Received a pension in 1585/6. (Reg. Pres., ii. fo. 141v) Last recorded as a monk on 22 February, 1587/8. (Cardross Writs, 246/no. 5)

RANNALDSON, Dene James

Canon of Inchaffray by 1521. (Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcvi.) He is recorded as a canon in 1536, 1544/5 and 1554-1558/9. (Laing Charters, 407; Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcvi-c; Lib. Ins. Miss., 120) Still alive in 1564 and 1565. (RMS, v. 174; Cal. Charters, 1944; P.B. James Drummond, fos. 54v-55; Merton Papers, no. 1757)

RAUFF, Dene John

Canon of Inchaffray by 1536. (Laing Charters, 407) Canon in 1545 and 1553-1557. (Inchaffray Charters, Intro., xcvi-c; Lib. Ins. Miss., 120; Tods, Murray and Jamieson, 64) He was still a canon in 1564. (Cal. Charters, 1944)

SHORT, Dene Robert

Canon of Inchmahome before 1562/3. (Hutton Collection, vii. fo. 113) Still a canon in 1573. (Laing Charters, 881; Cardross Writs, 15/59)

TURNBULL, Dene Andrew

Monk of Culross by 7 May, 1540. (Cal. Charters, 1238) Monk there through the 1540s. (Laing Charters, 442, 456, 507; Cal. Charters, 1337, 1391a, 1399b; PSAS, xli, 327, no. 37) Monk in 1552. (Cal. Charters, 1573) He lived through the Reformation period, refusing to conform, and remaining at Culross. (BA, fo. 283; A & D, 26, fo. 382v) At Culross through the 1560s. (Cal. Charters, 1874b, 1951, 2139; Laing Charters, 782, 818, 828) Last recorded as monk 8 June, 1569. (Laing Charters, 844)

WESTWATER, Dene John

Monk of Culross by 7 May, 1540. (Cal. Charters, 1238) At Culross in 1540s and 1550s. (Laing Charters, 442, 456, 507, 607; Cal. Charters, 1391a, 1399b, 1573) At the Reformation, he refused

WESTWATER, Dene John, cont'd.

to conform, (BA, fo. 283; A & D, 26, fo. 382v), continuing at the monastery 1562-1569. (Cal. Charters, 1874b, 1951, 2139; Laing Charters, 782, 818, 828, 844) He seems to have had a legal background, for he acted as procurator for the commendator in 1553, (Laing Charters, 607), and after 1560 he supplemented his income by serving as a notary. Styled notary at various times, 1567-1578. (Laing Charters, 819, 829, 845, 953, 970) Still notary and monk of Culross in 1580. (Edin. Tests., 10 July, 1583)

APPENDIX IV

The following lands were prominent in the original grant to Stewart of Beath. As the stewartry of Menteith was allocated by the crown, lands which do not appear to have changed hands through this period may well have remained with Mary of Guise.

Balleemorist

- 1531- to Stewart of Beath (RMS, iii. 1123)
- 1550- to William Edmonstone of Duntreath (RMS, iv. 536)
- 1561- to Stewart of Doune (RMS, iv. 1392)

40s. lands of Calzeboguhailze

- 1531- to Stewart of Beath (RMS, iii. 1123)
- 1550- to Duntreath (RMS, iv. 536)
- 1561- to Stewart of Doune (RMS, iv. 1392)

Ward of Gudy

- 1531- to Stewart of Beath (RMS, iii. 1123)
- 1542- to James Dog, son of James Dog of Dunrobin, in liferent for service to the king. The Dogs were closely allied to the Edmonstones and a family of the parish of Kilmadock. (RMS, iii. 2851)
- 1555- to Alexander Erskine, 2nd son of former Lord Erskine. (RMS, iv. 1027)
- 1561- to Stewart of Doune (RMS, iv. 1513)

£5 lands of Bra de Cammes

- 1531- to Stewart of Beath (RMS, iii. 1123)
- 1550- to Duntreath (RMS, iv. 1536)
- 1561- to Stewart of Doune (RMS, iv. 1392)

Wester Brigend

- 1531- to Stewart of Beath (RMS, iii. 1123)
- 1561- to Stewart of Doune (RMS, iv. 1392)

Newtoun of Doune

- 1531- to Stewart of Beath (RMS, iii. 1123)
- 1538- to James Edmonstone, brother natural to Duntreath
profits of the land (RMS, iii. 1906)
- 1541- to as above (RMS, iii. 2324)
- 1561- to Stewart of Doune, the 16 merk land of Newtoun
of Doune (RMS, iv. 1392)

Grodich

- 1531- to Stewart of Beath (RMS, iii. 1123)
- 1561- to Stewart of Doune (RMS, iv. 1392)

Auchinhard

As Grodich - called 6 merk land of Auchinhard in 1561.

Doward

As Grodich - called the 46s. 8d. land of Doward in 1561.

Glenmane

As Grodich - called the 1 merk land of Glenmane in 1561.

Miltoun de Cammes

- 1531- to Stewart of Beath (RMS, iii. 1123)
- 1550- to Duntreath (RMS, iv. 536)
- 1561- to Stewart of Doune (RMS, iv. 1392)

Kerse de Cammes

- 1531- to Stewart of Beath (RMS, iii. 1123)
- 1550- to Duntreath received part of the revenues of
this land (RMS, iv. 536)
- 1561- to Stewart of Doune (RMS, iv. 1392)

APPENDIX V

The following list contains a selection of persons styled farmers of parochial teinds. It is a sample and not an exhaustive list, indicating that many, and perhaps most, parochial benefices were in tack one way or another.

All references are to the Dunblane Consistorial Act Book.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Farmer</u>	
Aberfoyle parsonage	Marjorie Campbell	(i. fo. 173)
Aberfoyle vicarage	John & Malcolm Graham	(i. fo. 134v)
Abruthven vicarage	John Mersar Jr.	(ii. fo. 270v)
Auchterarder parsonage	George Graham, laird of Inchbrakey	(i. fo. 179v)
Auchterarder vicarage	sir William Blackwood	(i. fo. 58)
Callander vicarage	Andrew Burdon	(i. fo. 6)
Comrie parsonage	Mr. John Sinclair, vicar of Comrie	(ii. fo. 333v)
	David McNethe is sub-farmer	(<u>Ibid.</u>)
Comrie	Malcolm Comrie and others styled farmers of Comrie	(ii. fo. 253)
Dunning vicarage	sir Robert Lyn, chaplain	(i. fo. 160)
Fossoway church	Howbrown of Tullibole	(i. fo. 81; ii. fo. 316)
Fowlis-Wester	sir David Murray, curate	(ii. fo. 337)
Kilbride parsonage	Robert Row	(i. fo. 216)

Kilmahog	Malcolm McIntyre, one of the farmers	(i. fo. 167v)
	Robert McWatt and others are styled sub-farmers	(ii. fos. 389, 392)
Kinkell vicarage	John Reid	(i. fo. 131v)
Leny vicarage	Robert McMathy	(ii. fo. 236)
Logy parsonage	Home of Polwarth	(i. fo. 205)
Logy vicarage	Janet Chisholm, Lady Innerleyth	(i. fo. 76)
	John Henderson, Robert Row, and John Alexander, sub-farmers	(ii. fo. 248)
Monzie vicarage	Agnes Murray and her son David	(i. fo. 82)
Monzievaird	Malcolm Comrie and Alexander Stewart	(ii. fo. 389v)
Strogeith vicarage pensionary	David Drummond in Mylnab	(ii. fo. 286)
Tullicheddill church and vicarage	sir John Quhite, curate, is sub-farmer	(i. fo. 163v)

APPENDIX VI

Thomas Bishop

Having fled to England with Lennox and Tullibardine, Bishop, Lennox's secretary, served him as a negotiator with the English.(1) In 1544 he was naturalised as an English subject, granted lands in Yorkshire, and given payments for his services.(2) His wage was eventually established at 10s. a day. (3) In May 1546 it was Bishop who charged Tullibardine with being against the English.(4) Bishop served the English while the castilians held St. Andrews (5), receiving payment for his "good service in the North".(6)

In Scotland the gift of the escheat of his goods went to Alexander Drummond of Carnock and Mathew Hamilton of Mylnburn on 30 September, 1545. (7) However, his wife was granted license in 1547 by Mary of Guise to remain in England with her husband.(8) Bishop continued to serve the English through the Reformation period, although he broke with Lennox.(9) In 1561/2 he felt poorly rewarded for his services, and expressed his feelings together with his record of loyalty: "yf I have not at my poore powar above all others my cuntraye men, been moste earnest, moste inventyve, moste cruell and carefull, to subvert that realme of Scotlande, lett our trumpett be blown upoun the Marches". (10)

1. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 137, 170, 181; Hamilton Papers, ii. 213, 215; Lesley, History, 177.
2. E & P, xix(1), 1035 (63, 95, 102).
3. Ibid., xx(1), 168.
4. Acts of the Privy Council (English), i. 432.
5. Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 10, 12.
6. Acts of the Privy Council (English), ii. 157, 175.
7. RSS, iii. 1342.
8. HMC, x, appendix, 73, no. 45.
9. Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 333, 334.
10. Ibid., i. 1076.



Eden Grove

Bond

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APPENDIX VII

The succession to the abbey of Culross in 1566/7 illustrates how a study of contemporary documents can help to resolve what at first appears to be a mystery. On 4 February, 1566/7, Alexander Colville, son of the late James Colville of Easter Wemyss, was presented to the abbey.(1) However, two days later, Francis Stewart, future Earl of Bothwell and nephew of Mary Queen of Scots, received a similar grant.(2) Who actually possessed the abbey? It has been suggested that the grant to Stewart in the Register of the Privy Seal may be a clerical error, or may have been an abortive attempt to remove the priory from the hands of the Protestant Colvilles.(3)

It seems unlikely that Mary would wish to alienate the Protestants at this time, and she was in fact befriending the new church. Francis Stewart's deceased father, Lord John, was a Protestant as well. A stronger motivation for Mary might have been the fact that Francis's mother was the sister of the Earl of Bothwell, whom Mary held in high regard.

Stewart certainly had a claim to the commenda of Culross, if only for a brief time, for on 7 February, 1566/7, a procurator compeared for him before the court of session and resigned the abbey of Coldingham, formerly held by his father. In its stead were/

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1. RSS, v. 3201.
 2. Ibid., 3212; Fraser, The Lennox, i. 421.
 3. David McRoberts, "Culross in the Diocese of Dunblane", SFDC, 1969, 97.

were to be assigned to him the abbeys of Kelso and Culross.(4)
 This action was taken with the consent of his tutor testamentary, Mary Queen of Scots, and tutor nominative, James Earl of Bothwell, a formidable combination. On 12 February, 1566/7, it is recorded in the Register of the Privy Seal that Francis gave up Coldingham and was given Kelso in its place - while no mention is made of Culross.(5)

It would appear that sometime between 7 and 12 February an agreement was reached between the Stewarts and Colvilles, the commenda going to the latter. The assumption of an agreement is strengthened by wording in a charter of confirmation granted to Alexander Colville in 1587, following a general revocation of ecclesiastical lands. It is stated that Alexander, the commendator of Culross, had paid great sums of money to our beloved cousin "Francisco comiti de Boithwell tempore sue provisione dicto monasterio de Culros".(6) Thus it would appear that Colville insured his gift by payment to Stewart. Stewart does not appear to have acted as commendator, while Colville is recorded as acting in that role by April 1567.(7)

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4. A & D, 38, fo. 368 et seq.
 5. RSS, v. 3245.
 6. Cardross Writs, 246/no. 3.
 7. Laing Charters, 818.

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